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# WEEKLY PEOPLE

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VOL. XX., NO. 40.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1910.

PRICE: TWO CENTS. One Dollar Per Year.

## TURNING ON THE LIGHT

### SPIRIT OF REVOLUTION CAN'T BE SUPPRESSED.

**Sacrifice of Workingmen Never Mended By Craft Unionism—Underneath Fedorenko's Release—Reaching Out Against Roosevelt's Nomination in 1912.**

The measure, once full, irrepresable becomes the spirit of revolution. The Russian revolution seemed stamped out. Wholesale massacres and individual executions seemed to have left nothing of it. The reign of the White Terror, stalking through the land, seemed omnipotent enough to frighten away even the thought of resistance. And yet, from the same quarters whence the first revolutionary rumblings were heard in Russia, the rumblings are now repeated. The students of the University of St. Petersburg resolve not to attend lectures for three days as a protest against flogging of prisoners and the arrest of students.

Wherever craft or Trades Unionism has long had away conditions are found essentially the same—uniformly mournful for the working class—whether the country be monarchic or republican. The December 21 London despatches announcing that between three and four hundred miners were entombed by an explosion in the Hudson collieries at Leigh, Lancashire, read exactly like the despatches one is familiar with from American mines presided over by the John Mitchellized system of Unionism.

Fedorenko is released. The reason given is a "technical flaw" in the papers. Ah, for an X-ray apparatus to reveal the contents of the letters exchanged between the Canadian and the Russian Government! The "technical flaw" will be found to lie in the code of civilized society which frowns upon violations of Asylum. This, of course, is a flaw. The path of progress is marked by just such flaws. May their number increase and multiply.

The first over and above ground move made in Congress against Roosevelt's presidential candidature in 1912 was made by Representative Rainey of Illinois through a resolution to appoint a committee that shall investigate the railroad expenses incurred by Roosevelt while President. The Pennsylvania Railroad claims that Roosevelt ordered special trains for which he never paid, and the cost of which the Company has no means to collect from the Government. The Rainey resolution may yet furnish the text for a 1912 campaign document.

Not for the purpose of "raking up old scores"—that we leave to the petty souls whose cause is the Ego and not the emancipation of the Working Class—not for the purpose of raking up old scores, on the contrary, for the purpose of adding emphasis to, and underscoring Haywood's words, spoken at the Brooklyn Warren protest meeting, reported by a correspondent elsewhere in this issue: "Had Gompers, Morrison and Mitchell made such a howl then [in 1892 when an injunction was issued against Haywood] as they do now, the jails would not stare them in the face"—for the purpose of underscoring and emphasizing these weighty Haywood's words, we add: "And had Haywood, instead of remaining silent two years ago, when the Wanhopes and others of his Socialist party, disparaged, in the capitalist and the S. P. press, the Socialist Labor Party and W. W. Man Preston, whose S. L. P. press did so much towards Haywood's own liberation, and even spoke of Preston as a 'murderer,' thereby endorsing the iniquitous judicial crime perpetrated upon Preston for his heroism on the I. W. W. firing line of the class struggle—had Haywood, instead of remaining silent made such a howl then as he does now on behalf of Warren, the jail might not now stare Warren in the face." Let bygones be bygones, and Haywood's words be applauded, if they be taken a generally awakened sense of an injury to one being an injury to all, and that NO INDIVIDUAL WRONG CAN BE EFFECTIVELY COMBATED BUT BY COMBATING ALL WRONG. Wrong is One. God speed the New Era—if a New Era is dawning.

It is not upon the back of the railroad companies that the lash of Clifford Thorne, State Railroad Commissioner of Washington falls heaviest when he rips up the false pretences of the Com-

panies for demanding higher rates, and proves all their assertions of poor times utterly false. The lash falls heaviest upon the back of the officers of the Railroad Brotherhoods, who, despite the ill-treatment of their members, have come forward with and promoted petitions to Congress to allow the Companies to raise rates "in the name of fair play."

Christian Science is going through a crisis. A crisis on dogma? Not at all. A crisis over the control of material wealth, over treasures laid up "upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break in and steal." Whereupon Christian Science wheels in line with the Roman Catholic political machine, whose late pope pledged himself "to reclaim the territory and civil power" of the papacy on the ground that "the temporal dominion of the Roman Pontiff means the salvation of the human soul." And whereupon the one and the other, adversaries of Socialism for its materialism, render ungracefully homage to Socialist Science, Socialist sincerity, hence to the superiority of Socialist loftiness.

The Spokane, Wash., "Industrial Worker" of December 15 publishes a list of creditors—seven in number—to which the body owes an aggregate of \$628.18. Among the list, conspicuous by its absence, is the New York Labor News Company, the literary bureau of the Socialist Labor Party, to whom the reputed Chicago headquarters of the Spokane concern owes the sum of \$182.19 for literature ordered by the said headquarters, delivered to the said headquarters, sold by the said headquarters—and the money pocketed by the said headquarters. The repudiation of this debt and misappropriation of this amount is an act illustrative of the said Spokane concern's theory regarding "theft as a revolutionary method" and the act proclaims the fact that, whatever the said concern's headquarters are the headquarters of the I. W. W., founded in 1905, but a nasty "Direct Action Only" chattering. So say we all.

Baltimore despatches announce that the E. H. West race-segregation ordinance, which is to segregate the Negroes into separate wards, is to be taken to the courts for a test of its constitutionality. This is a slow, roundabout, tedious and doubtful procedure. There is a much speedier and surer one for the Baltimore Negroes to adopt. It is to start emigrating en masse. The whites will then speedily decide that the segregation ordinance is abhorrently unconstitutional. Anything and everything will be conceded to the Negroes by white labor employers the moment the Negro would himself segregate himself from the labor market in any Southern community.

Another investigation! The New York Central Bowser House explosion that caused over 10 deaths and injured over 120 more is to be investigated. The verse of Ecclesiastes—"Of many books there is no end; and much study is a weariness of the flesh"—should be adapted to the occasion: "Of many investigations there is no end; and much investigation is a weariness to the flesh." Investigation follows investigation, and reveals nothing that was not substantially known before the investigated event happened. It all comes to this:—"The strain for profits causes economies, or thefts, as the case may be; the economies cause disasters or defalcations, as the case may be."

Eugene Sue's "The Sword of Honor," just published in English, affords to students of history an opportunity to obtain an insight into the great French Revolution from a side and from sides not emphasized by any work expressly historic on that great event. This work illustrates well the field that is offered to the historic novel, and that the good historic novel has the mission of illuminating. Such an historic novel on the French Revolution is this 18th story of Sue's series "The History of a Proletarian Family."

### CHRISTMAS TREE FOR DOGS.

Boston, December 26.—A Christmas tree for dogs, especially trimmed with gay lights, silver trimmings, toy dogs, rubber balls, candy and other things is the "novel" way in which Miss Clara Barteaux has arranged to entertain a small gathering of the pet dogs of her Boston friends to-day.

The Christmas tree is in memory of Miss Barteaux's Henrietta, a Havana terrier, which died recently.

When the Socialist Labor Party—despite its much smaller vote and membership—maintains that its tactics, hence, its principles make it a permanency, whereas the Socialist party—not much larger vote and membership notwithstanding—is a transitory affair because of its heterogeneous tactics and principles, the S. L. P. states a double fact that is planted upon granite.

There are in the S. P. three leading figures—Berger, Haywood, Debs. What are the views they enunciate upon the vital issue of the economic organization, hence, upon fundamental tactics and principles?

Victor Berger, most conspicuous as a "doer of things," has as his motto in his "Social Democratic Herald":—

**WAGE EARNERS WAKE UP!**  
Join the Union of your craft and the party of the Union. Demand the UNION LABEL and shop CARD. Cast your ballots for emancipation from wage slavery.

William D. Haywood, distinguished as the incarnation of the proletariat, expressed himself Sunday the 18th in the Yorkville Casino in this city as follows:—

I want to say to you that no Socialist can be a Trade Unionist. The ethics of Trade Unionism forbid such a possibility. Socialism proclaims the class struggle. When Trade Unionists enter into an agreement with the employer they are perpetuating the capitalist class system for the time that the contract lasts.

Every Trade Unionist will swear that he hates the soldier and the militiaman like poison. But who enlists to feed the soldier, to make bullets and guns for the militiaman? The Trade Unionist—when he signs a contract with the capitalist class!

Not only that, but the Trade Unionist makes the soldier himself. How? By the apprenticeship system. The number of apprentices is restricted. Fathers in the Trade Unions say to their sons, "You can't learn this trade." Thus the youth are forced out of an occupation, into jail, the army and the navy. Why is this apprenticeship system? Because the Trade Unions are not unions but job-trusts. They are ruled by craft, not class, consciousness.

They insist, again, on the closed shop. Closed to what? Not to the bootlegger, but to the front door! The Trade Unionist closes the shop on the working class. I say open the union to all the workers, then you'll have the only closed shop worth having.

The apprenticeship system does not suffice to keep out workers. The Trade Unions raise up an initiation fee—\$50 to join the "Hodskins" Union, \$150 to join the Electricians Union, and over \$500 to become a member of the Glass Bottle Blowers. Do you yet see the necessity of organizing one Labor Union to take in all the workers? The battles of the working class, they are organized to protect the few favored individuals fortunate enough to get inside the wall.

What we industrialists propose is the or-

## MORE SHOE STRIKERS OUT

### FORTY MEN QUIT GEO. W. BAKER SHOP.

**Bosses, Provoked by Men's Firmness in Holding Out, Are Itching to Have Riots Start—Scheme to Snare Strikers Miscarries—Financial Support Needed.**

Last week saw forty more shoe workers join the ranks of the shoe strikers in Brooklyn. These were all fitters from the firm of Geo. W. Baker, on Classon avenue. The strikers of this factory had been approached by one of the foremen, who wanted them to return to work, but they told him there would be no return unless their terms were granted. No compromise will be accepted.

There is one thing which all friends of the strikers—friends who would see this scab Tobin affair laid low—must bear in mind, and that is, the strikers need financial support. In spirit to fight to a finish and to victory, these men lack nothing; they are just as anxious to wipe out a traitorous concern as any man in the labor movement. But in finances the men need all the help that can be given and they need it at once. Several cases of urgent need have developed among them; two strikers' families were turned out in the biting cold of last week by their landlords; another had been given two days' notice to pay his \$12 rent. This adversity, while not affecting their spirit, is adding keenly to their deprivation, which was already bad enough owing to the poor wages they had been receiving when they were at work. The strike has been on now for five weeks, and financial support has not been coming in as it should. This condition calls for a change. In a statement of what they are struggling for and appeal for funds, the strikers declare as follows:

"We are out to win, we have been suffering and working for starvation wages too long, too long was the pain, we must win at all cost or our conditions will become unfit for men to bear. On the enthusiasm of the victory and the solidarity of the victorious workers we propose to raise the banner of victorious unionism, one big union for all shoe workers of this district that shall protect and advance the cause of the workers and disturb the peace and enormous profits of the masters.

organization of one union, not for America only, but big enough to wipe out all state and even national lines. We would organize according to industries. We are going to start the Co-operative Commonwealth, and we're not going to ask Milwaukee how to do it. The best they can do in Milwaukee is administer affairs in one small section of the Public Service department. That is not the whole Industrial Democracy by any means. For that the millions employed in food production, mining, manufacturing, transportation and every other industry must be also organized. Instead of about one million as organized to-day.

And, as if all this were not yet clear enough, upon the question being asked him whether the Socialists in the A. F. of L. should leave that body and join the Industrial Union, the points were condensed and driven in with the answer:—

I would so advise everywhere the A. F. of L. was not able to deprive the worker of his bread and butter. Where the A. F. of L. controls your living, stay in it, where you are free to follow principle, join the Industrial Workers.

Finally, Eugene V. Debs the party's orator, in a letter to Tom Mann published in the "International Socialist Review" for August, says:—

In answer to your direct inquiry I have to say that I do not, as you suggest, intend to undertake to destroy the old Unions. Such a policy can be fruitful only of mischief to Industrial Unionism, as we have reason to know on this side.

The "Union of your craft" in Berger's motto, the "Trades Union" in Haywood's words, the "old Unions" in Debs's letter—all refer to the same thing—the A. F. of L. and kindred Unionism, pets of the Civic Federation. How to handle that "proposition," Berger stands at one extreme end, a rounder for the A. F. of L.; Haywood at the opposite end; Debs in the middle with a theory for avoiding mischief that all experience denies.

A Revolutionary Movement—and not all the sheep's skins Berger would cover himself with can wholly smother even within his own throat the revolutionary voice of Socialism—can not be "all things to all men." Coalitions may stand Movements reformatory of a social system in existence, and the perpetuation of which is the object of reform. To a revolutionary Movement coalitions are either checks to the march; or, if they do not from the start check the march, they in the end obstruct it, and

unionism, one big union for all shoe workers of this district that shall protect and advance the cause of the workers and disturb the peace and enormous profits of the masters.

"We pledge ourselves as true members of the working class to do our share of the sacred duty to arouse, educate, organize and drill our fellow workers for the conquest of more bread and better working conditions for all.

"We appeal to all the hundreds of men and women who fought in the past and will continue to do so in the future until the flag of Industrial Freedom shall wave triumphantly over the workshops where wealth will be produced by free men and women for the benefit of toilers alone.

"In the conduct of this fight, finances are needed and needed badly, not to feed dignitaries, but to meet the necessary expenses in the conduct of a battle of this magnitude.

"We appeal earnestly to all in the name of three thousand long-suffering workers, and we hope sincerely that our appeal will not reach deaf ears and cold hearts.

"Contribute liberally. Show your spirit of solidarity in no mistaken way. They who give quickly give doubly.

"Send all remittances and communications to Chas. Linfante, 73 Troy avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y."

The methods practiced by the Tobin "union" in crawling before employers and making a bid to "unionize" their shops are revealed in the following letter. It is a regular form which is sent to shoe manufacturers. It reads:

**CIRCULAR LETTER**  
Issued by the  
**BOOT & SHOE WORKERS' UNION**  
to the  
**SHOE MANUFACTURERS.**

To the Shoe Manufacturers:—  
The long continued and rapid development of the demand for Union Stamp Shoes having convinced the shoe trade generally that the Union Stamp proposition is something more than a passing fad we venture to address this circular to you, suggesting that you immediately investigate the conditions under which the Union Stamp may be issued and thus place yourself in line to take advantage

(Continued on page six.)

then throw it back demoralized. Bungling is the Debs posture of seeking peace where there is no peace. At war with the law of evolution is the Berger posture: A. F. of L. Unionism is a blind-alley. Only Haywood's posture is the true because it alone fits all the facts;—and that posture is, in the spirit and the letter, the posture of the S. L. P.

A. F. of L. Unionism has become a fraud on the word Union. Etymologically it is false—it disunites the working class; sociologically it is an obscene monstrosity—clad with the trappings of Labor, it is the bulwark of Capital. Capital, the unwilling handmaid of Progress, is itself compulsorily sapping the foundations of A. F. of L. Hallishness. In the measure that Capital does that it strains to hedge in the now ever more hollow hull with superstitious reverence, with the reverence due to bona fide Unionism only, a quality that, if the A. F. of L. ever partook of it, has long since fled from it. It is the task, the imperative mission of the Socialist, to supplement the work of Capital by tearing down and demolishing the superstition. This message was first delivered, the *mot d'ordre* was first sounded in the land by the Socialist Labor Party. To the task of carrying out that condition precedent for Socialist progress and triumph, the S. L. P. has serenely bent to the oars, undeterred by the vindictiveness of its opponents, untouched by the poisoned arrows that flew and still fly thick upon it—untouched, because armored with integrity of purpose; undeterred because unerringly guided by the light of Science to the only goal worth striving for by our generation, the emancipation of the Working Class, thereby the final abolition of Class Rule.

Not the heterogeneity of a Japanese quilt, but, in fundamentals, the homogeneity that alone can insure unity of action, can alone insure permanence to a party of Socialism. And that homogeneity must be planted upon the rockbed of fact, not upon the quicksand of illusion.

## AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY

### LABOR IN NOTHING BUT THE NAME.

**Declaration of One of Its Prominent Men, McGowan, Shows It Based on Capitalist Principles—The Recent Elections.**

Burwood, New South Wales, Australia, October 24.—The N. S. W. elections were held on October 14, the two contesting parties being the Liberal Party and the so-called Labor Party. The elections were fought by the Labor Party largely on "leg-ironing of Peter Bowling." When Peter was leading the strike they cursed him. Then they clanked his chains, when out of his imprisonment they could make political capital. The clanking has been successful. The Labor Party is now the State Government. Parliament is as follows. Labor, 46; Liberal, 36; Independent, 6; Undecided, 2; Total, 90.

Ex-Premier Wade introduced the second ballot system for this election. Where there are more than two candidates for one district, the top candidate must poll more than all the other candidates combined, otherwise there is another poll with the two highest candidates. The six Independents may be classed as Liberals, and the two Undecided will result in two other Liberals being elected, at least that is the anticipation. So the house will then be composed of 46 "Labor," and 44 Liberal, unless the railsetters jump with the Labor frogs.

The new Labor Cabinet, contains two ex-members of the Australian Socialist League, Beeby and Holman. The new members include in their number an ex-S. L. P. named Norrish, and an ex-I. W. W. Club member named Keegan.

The S. L. P. was "too slow" for them. Then wanted "something now." They got it on the backs of the working class. Two days before election, Ex-Premier Wade issued an "Appeal to the Electors" among which were the two following items: Maintenance of law and order rather than sympathy for revolutionary Socialists; Liberalism against Socialism. The Labor Party has elected one of its numbers as Speaker, and that leaves

them the bare majority of one, unless some of the railsetters flop their way. It would have been better if the Labor Party had secured a big majority, for their followers will be further deluded by the cry that they haven't a sufficient majority. A big majority would have proved more readily, that the Labor Party cannot improve the economic condition of the workers as long as the capitalist class owns and controls the industries.

The first acts of the Labor Premier are expected to be the release of Peter Bowling, and the repeal of the "Coercion Act", which punishes strike officials by twelve months of hard labor.

Here is the dope that McGowan dished up for the working class. Nothing about Socialism or the class struggle there; nothing but bunkum and palliatives. The so-called Socialist Party of America should catch on; it's good flypaper in Australia, so it might be the candy the S. P. is looking for.

Said McGowan: "The Labor Party stands for the interests of the whole of the people as against a class. The aim and object of Federal and State Parliaments are the same—to build up a great and enlightened people:—

"By throwing open the locked lands of this State to the people of this State, and encouraging immigration when the land is thus available, so that every acre of agricultural land shall be occupied by farmers in living areas.

"By pushing forward railways through Crown land and establishing seaports along our coastline, and railway communication to these ports, so that produce may be taken to the nearest port, and many industrial centers be established.

"By encouraging manufacturers and subsidiary industries through the State ownership of coal and iron—the bases of industries—which could be supplied by the State at cost price, and thus make room for hundreds of thousands of industrial workers in the secondary industries, and by preventing rings, trusts, and combines from exploiting the food and necessities of the people.

"By establishing a free University, to which access shall be by brains and merit alone, through a complete bursary system, and by establishing a system of continuation trade and commercial school for the industrial workers of this State.

"I offer the services of myself and party to the people of New South Wales for the purpose of carrying out these proposals."

The following extract from the "Sydney Telegraph" of October 19 shows the "Labor atmosphere":

Melbourne, Tuesday.—On a motion for adjournment in the House of Representatives to-night,

"Mr. Page (Q.) demanded of the Government an explanation of the happening in connection with the markers' strike at the Williamstown rifle range (Hear, hear.) He said warmly, I have something to say against this precious Government of ours. We have a defense force controlled by a Labor Minister, and yet a Labor Government is the first to introduce military to break down a strike. It will never be said of me that I sat behind a Government that would introduce the military as 'scabs.' This is the first time in the history of the Commonwealth that such a thing has occurred, and with a force under a Labor Government's control. I have never seen a stronger blow at unionism, and I say this government must explain.

"Messrs. Spence (N.S.W.), Moloney (Vic.), and Roberts (S.A.) supported the views put forward by Mr. Page.

"Mr. Roberts said that apparently the Minister had not been asked for permission. An inquiry might be instituted. Steps must be taken to prevent a recurrence.

"Mr. Frazer, the Minister representing the Minister for Defence, in reply, said he doubted if the matter had yet been brought before the Minister. The Government had no sympathy with strike-breakers. The Government favored fair wages and fair conditions for its employees. If the markers had a reasonable case they would get reasonable treatment from the Government. The matter would be brought before the Minister for Defence to-morrow."

The slaughtermen's strike has ended after eleven weeks, the union winning their demands including the discharging of 130 scabs. Among the conditions is that employers agree to find work, and the union to provide the labor required.

## MILWAUKEE'S

### GARMENT WORKERS' STRIKE AND OTHER EVENTS.

**Alderman Melms's Warning to the Judges and Mayor Seidel's Warning to the Police Compel Employer's Surrender—The Kraft-Rucker Controversy—The Catholic Political Machine—Law Proposed.**

Milwaukee, December 19.—Eight hundred members of the Garment Workers' Union, employed in the shops of David Adler & Sons, and who were out on strike about a week, returned to work Monday, December 12, under improved conditions. The agreement was reached with the Adler firm last Saturday after a lengthy conference between members of the firm, officers of the Garment Workers, Business Agent Weber of the Federated Trades Council, and Mayor Seidel. Under the terms of the new agreement the firm will reinstate all employees on strike, without discrimination within one week. There will be no discrimination against any employees because they are not members or officers of any organization. Beginning January 1, 1911, the working time shall be fifty-four hours per week, time and one-half for all overtime and double time for holidays. Hereafter the firm will meet any employees at any time after working hours to try and adjust any differences that may arise, and employees will not have to deal with foremen as heretofore. Several other firms have signified their willingness to sign the same agreement as signed with the Adler firm. Some will be given an opportunity, although there are a number who have been manufacturing clothing for the struck shops in Chicago, and the strike will undoubtedly be continued against these firms. The result of the strike is considered an almost complete victory for the Garment Workers, as nearly every demand presented was granted.

The majority of the tailor shops were on strike here. The trouble in Milwaukee started through the union cutters employed at Adler's. They thought Adler's were doing work for the Chicago struck shops of Hart, Schaffner, Marx and the Kuppenheimer Co. The UNORGANIZED tailors, working in the Adler contract shops, immediately informed their employers that they would not work, any longer, until it was proven to them, that the employers were not handling Chicago scab goods. These unorganized tailors are mostly Jewish. While the unorganized workers were out, the UNION cutters were cutting cloth for the scabs. That's some of your Milwaukee Socialism. While the strike was on the unorganized workers were organized into the Garment Workers' Union, and have now applied for a charter. Berger upon his return from St. Louis said he always contended for Industrial Unionism. Here he had a good opportunity to preach Industrialism but he did not take advantage of it. But those are the methods of a "genius," don't you know?

To Seidel's credit, it must be stated that he commanded the police to protect the pickets in this strike. And Alderman Melms stated: "If any judge dares serve an injunction on the strikers, it will be his finish as a judge, for the Socialists will see to it that he shall never again be elected judge."

Seidel's action and Melms's statement caused the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association to pass a resolution condemning such actions. After the strike was settled the capitalist press praised the Union officials, and the Adler Co. for adjusting the differences so quickly.

The move to unseat Berger as Congressman went up in smoke. The capitalist press didn't encourage the move, the Free Press was the only paper that took up the cry.

The appointment of Dr. Kraft as Health Commissioner to succeed Dr. Rucker, resigned, has brought out a

(Continued on page 2.)

Wonder if the bosses will "find work when there is none.

The author, Israel Zangwill is negotiating with Premier Moore, of West Australia, to secure territory for an autonomous State for one million Jewish immigrants.

'Tis rumored that Australia is to be "honored" by a lecturing tour from Walter Thon Mills of America.

R. Mackenzie.



# Crises in European History

By GUSTAV BANG

- I. The Rise of Christianity.
- II. The Reformation.
- III. The French Revolution.

Translated from the Danish by ARNOLD PETERSEN

(Continued from Last Week.)

## III. The French Revolution.

(Concluded.)

Scanning the list of social classes, we realize what stuff the French Revolution contained for continued splits and conflicts, until the revolution resulted in what at that time was only historically attainable: the victory, the social liberation of the higher bourgeoisie, the matadors of commerce and industry.

We can understand how these heterogeneous elements could stick together so long as the upper layers of society had to be fought, and how they would disband so soon as a victory was won. We understand how the subject class, lashed forward by mutual need and hunger, was now being used as a bugbear by the various groups of the bourgeoisie, now being fought with the sharpest weapons.

It was the uppermost layers of the bourgeoisie which first got into power through the revolution. They made full use of the excited sentiments raging among the proletariat. The taking of the Bastille was decisive for their victory over the two higher estates; and the great peasant revolts throughout the land became the means with which they frightened the nobility and clergy to give up their old privileges. But no sooner had they reached their goal than they were stricken with terror for the movement below. They now allied themselves with the moderate elements of the nobility and the ecclesiastics for mutual resistance against the further progress of the Revolution. They tried to make the governmental form a constitutional monarchy with a diet which represented only the wealthy in the land; the citizens were divided into "active," the taxpayers, and "passive," those who were too poor to pay taxes, and only the former were granted the suffrage; the worker and the petty-bourgeois were carefully excluded from all political rights. A tax-law was passed with the object in view of shifting the public burdens from the rich financiers over to the small dealers. Terrible punishments were inflicted upon the workers, who by common action, even in a very moderate form, sought to better their conditions.

The rulership of the top-capitalists lasted but a few years. The revolutionary tension in society was too strong to be kept down; it produced a greater and greater pressure and a new layer shot up. It was the party of the Girondins, which represented the middle layers of the bourgeoisie, not higher financial capital, nor yet the lower craftsmasters and small-dealers, but the wealthy business bourgeoisie, the wholesalers and manufacturers, particularly in the provinces. Its political program was a moderate republicanism, which could secure to the possessing middle classes the chief influence on public life. As soon as the Girondins, continually invoking the common people, had conquered political power, they turned around and fought relentlessly against the "ultra-revolutionary," the party of the petty bourgeois, the "Jacobins," and the still more extreme proletarian groups. They saw in them nothing but unscrupulous rioters, who were threatening "true liberty." "Now the Revolution must stop," one of their papers said, "otherwise we risk everything which we have achieved." Now we must extinguish that fire of passion, stop party disorder, prevent catastrophes, oppose riots. The continuation of the Revolution would mean anarchy, and, if necessary, had to be prevented by exceptional laws. It was property-rights, capitalist property-rights which had to be safeguarded. The great, misguided and confused mass was not able to conduct state or society; "Is it not ridiculous to speak of the sovereignty of the masses?" The Girondin tax policy aimed at a series of favors for the wealthy bourgeoisie: the idea of a graduated tax-rate was firmly rejected; "the graduated rate is always arbitrary and therefore dangerous to property." With deep scorn the Girondins met the demands which the hungry masses made for a maximum price on bread to prevent some of the consequences of the prevailing high prices; it would have been an outrageous interference with free competition! And it showed how unpatriotic and demoralized those

people were who could propose such measures! And when the poor Parisians early in 1793, forced by tormenting hunger, plundered some bakery shops, the Girondin press could not find words strong enough to denounce this "mob," this "pack of robbers."

Thus disappeared all revolutionary spirit and human compassion, as dew before the sun's rays, as soon as one layer of the capitalist class had gained a position which had to be defended against a class below.

The sentiment in the lower classes grew more and more bitter through these acts of treachery. What the meaning of it all was, began to dawn upon them; they began to see through that mesh of phrases and big words with which the spokesmen and writers for the bourgeoisie tried to veil the real motives of their politics, not only for others but also for themselves; they began to realize what role they were intended for—a ladder on which the possessing classes could climb to the top, and there to turn and stamp the iron heel of exploitation so much more effectively. It was the first manifestation of the class-consciousness of the proletariat.

As yet the proletariat was too weak, too few in numbers, and too heterogeneous in its composition to start an independent class war leading to victory. The revolutionary movements which had the interests of working-class and the petty-bourgeoisie in view and aimed at thoroughgoing social reforms were soon crushed. It was the capitalists who secured the power. The liberation of capitalism from the remnants of feudalism was the historical problem which had to be, and which was solved. And the fear of the proletariat which the capitalists already had entertained prior to the Revolution, forced them to seek refuge in a strong form of government. The military dictatorship of Napoleon followed the Revolution—and later on the monarchy—conservative forms which could guarantee protection of the capitalist property-rights against the increasing demands of the working people.

But the revolutionary bourgeoisie of the great French Revolution—without its own knowledge or will—created the road for the proletariat. For now that the obstructions which the bourgeoisie formerly met with had been removed and the capitalist method of production could develop itself to an ever greater extent, the conditions were created which made it possible for the proletariat to develop and gain strength for their own emancipation.

Year after year the great mass of the population is being transformed into wage-slaves under capitalism. And the exploitation has opened the eyes of the proletarianized masses, has taught them their position in society, has shown them the goal which they must gain in order to effect their emancipation, has driven them along the roads leading to the goal, has accelerated the agitation and organization work, strengthening and schooling those working masses, whose mission it is to put an end to exploitation and thereby put an end to all exploitation, oppression and misery. With the French Revolution the dividing line of the class struggle has been removed. While formerly the capitalist bourgeoisie stood on the left side of the chasm, foremost in the revolutionary class-struggle against the old medieval rulers, and was supported by the lower classes who felt that in this struggle their interests were identical with those of the on-storming bourgeoisie, so now that bourgeoisie more and more unites with those powers which it formerly fought, and the struggle shows itself to be one between the property-holding class on the one side, and the property-less on the other side.

The French Revolution forms the prelude to the mighty class-struggle of our time.

### Conclusion.

The slavery of antiquity was superseded by medieval feudalism which in turn gave place to the capitalist system of production. Gradually as capitalism grew and increased in economic significance, its social influence grew also. Gradually it burst the trammels hampering its development, cleared away the old political and juridical relations, and constructed society in accordance with its own interests and assumed full power. Now

we are in the midst of full-fledged capitalism; capital rules over man with a power such as no autocratic ruler ever did, and this finds its reflex in all social life.

Each of these great epochs of human history denotes an exploitation of an oppressed subject-class by a ruling over-class. Only the forms have changed. The slaves of antiquity piled up wealth for the slave-owners just as the medieval serfs did it for the seigniors and just as the personally free workmen are doing it for the capitalists. Capitalism has divided society into two hostile groups, a small minority which owns the land, the buildings, the machines, the factories, raw material, and everything else required for the socially necessary labor, and an immense majority which owns absolutely nothing but its labor-power and which is compelled to sell that labor-power to the possessing class in order to exist, and forced to sell it for a wage just high enough to keep body and soul together; while the great mass of values which it creates over and above mere means of subsistence, flows into the coffers of its exploiters. The lash of hunger is the effective means by which the property-holding class forces the property-less under the yoke, and the antithesis between capitalists and proletariat, between the exploiter and the exploited, forms the main current in all public life the earth over.

But capitalism is but a passing period in the historical development. And already a new social order is forcing its way through.

The historical significance of capitalism has been that it made possible an extension of the productive forces so enormously and so rapidly as was never witnessed before. New machines have made it possible to multiply human productivity many times and to bring forth an amount of wealth, unknown to the people of former days. The progress of the science of chemistry has enabled us to increase the fertility of the soil to an extent undreamt of, and to produce innumerable useful objects through simple and easy methods; it has created a system of transportation which has broken down the barriers which formerly separated single nations, shortened distance, and brought the world into an ever richer and closer reciprocity. All this has come to be under the supremacy of the productive methods of capitalism. And capitalism has itself promoted this motion, hastened its speed and caused it to extend over ever newer fields. Every new progress has brought to capitalism a new means for exploiting the workers, forcing them under its sway.

The great promises which all technical progress holds out of a higher life and culture for society as a whole become, under capitalism, so many unredeemed drafts, which only Socialism can redeem. That mass of inventions and discoveries which otherwise would serve to promote human happiness, becomes under capitalism a scourge for the great mass in society, a means for the capitalists to extract new increased profits out of the working-class.

This is the antithesis called forth by capitalist society, the antithesis between the interests of society on the one hand, and the interests of capital on the other. And as the development goes on this contradiction becomes ever more glaring. The anti-social character of capitalism becomes plain every day. The exploitation becomes stronger and stronger, greater and greater is the amount of labor-power and values wasted under this Anarchistic system of capitalist industry. The capitalist mode of production meets with more and more difficulties and produces more and more contradictions—the increasing army of unemployed with all its consequences is proof of the fact that capitalism no longer has control over the productive forces which it itself has awakened. It is plainly seen how we are rapidly approaching the time when capitalism must collapse and give way to a new order because it IS NO LONGER ABLE TO PROGRESS FURTHER.

Simultaneously as capitalism faces its downfall, it creates the forces which must dethrone it and take the affairs of society in hand. The Working Class is growing in numbers and gaining in strength and unity, in clearness and the consciousness of its position. The class-struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie becomes more and more bitter, and is changed from a series of separate struggles into a struggle for supremacy in society. And in this struggle the working-class will be the victor; every new election, every new review of the Socialist forces shows that the proletariat is marching towards victory. But when the working-class wins, Socialism will be the natural result. For Socialism is nothing but the natural expression of the class-interests.

## MILWAUKEE'S.

(Continued from Page 1.)

great deal of opposition. The Milwaukee Medical Society censured the appointment saying that Dr. Kraft graduated from a college where the use of antiseptics and the microscope is not in vogue. Dr. Kraft, however, is far more progressive than most Milwaukee doctors.

Mr. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard, while here, praised the Seidel administration.

W. Arnold, the union printer, who was elected sheriff recently, has appointed W. Schwab, business agent of the Molders' Union as under-sheriff. The appointments by the Social Democrats for both city and county offices embrace members of the Machinists', Plasterers', Printers', Molders' and Patternmakers' Unions.

The Catholic priests (most of them) have issued a mandate to their congregations, not to attend "Salome" and the Municipal Saturday evening dances.

Complete home rule and permission to establish and maintain such new enterprises as the voters in referendum may decide, and a full score of other laws all tending toward home rule, will be asked from the State legislature.

The council legislation committee at a meeting December 17 recommended for adoption twenty-seven resolutions asking that the city attorney draft bills to be presented at the next legislative session.

According to Chairman Victor L. Berger of the committee, all the efforts of the administration will be centered on the bill asking for home rule, as permission for home rule will make it unnecessary to secure the passage of the other measures.

The common council has already acted favorably upon thirteen bills to be presented to the legislature which, added to the twenty-seven recommended yesterday, will make forty new Milwaukee bills. It is estimated that this number will be increased by at least ten at the council meeting to-morrow.

### Proposed Laws and Authors.

Resolutions recommended by the legislative committee for adoption and the authors who introduced them are as follows:

Welch—Giving the city as much home rule as is possible under existing conditions.

Berger—To empower the city to establish and maintain four municipal hospitals, one of which is to be a maternity hospital.

Berger—To give the city permission to establish and maintain such new enterprises as the legal voters by a majority referendum may decide, and to raise the city bond limit to meet the purchase price.

Arnold—To secure permission to have the city acquire land for building modern homes for workmen.

### Would Extend Medical Service.

Weiley—Giving the city power to extend the free medical service of the health department and to establish free dispensaries.

Strehlow—Empowering the city to build municipal slaughtering houses and cold storage plants.

Koch—Giving the city the right to create the office of city forester.

Gorecki—Providing for imprisonment for second violations of automobile speed laws.

Rummel—Empowering the city to have city plumbers do private plumbing and sewer work.

Grass—Giving the city the power to do its own work; giving authority to the public works department to let contracts without delay in emergency cases.

McKinley—To enable the city to divert the fees of the health department into the city treasury and pay the health commissioner a straight salary.

### For Municipal Lodging House.

Melms—Enabling the city to establish and maintain a municipal lodging house.

Rehfeld—To enable the city to have the same jurisdiction over inter-urban

terests of the workers. Within capitalist society the workers accept whatever improvements they can obtain. But once they possess the power, they will not rest contented with mere reforms, they will use their power to shape society according to their will. They will not be satisfied with merely limiting exploitation but will abolish it; they will not be satisfied with gaining concessions from capital, but will put capital out of the game entirely, and in its place set up the Labor Republic.

Then and only then can the promises offered by the age of capitalism be fulfilled; the tremendous productive process will be changed from being a means of exploitation and suppression to become the means of a higher life and culture, not as now, for a limited number, but for all society; all the social misery of the modern age will be abolished and all future exploitation prevented.

(Finis.)

electric lines that it now enjoys over local street car service.

August E. Braun—To create a city supply department whose head shall be appointed by the mayor.

Ries—To charge the cost of oiling and sprinkling streets to abutting property owners.

Giese—To give the city permission to grant street railway franchises through parks and parkways.

Strehlow—To secure permission to charge for the granting of special privileges.

Rehfeld—To provide for the initiative, referendum and recall.

### Will Urge City Ice Plant.

Rehfeld—To enable the city to establish a municipal ice plant and dispense to citizens at cost.

Sultaire—To amend the State automobile law so as to compel automobile owners to have a rear end light to cast a light on the automobile number at night.

Mikkelsen—To provide public comfort stations.

Giese—To provide for a half holiday on all election days and to provide a penalty for employers who force their employees to work.

Ries—To enable the city to assess \$3 per square yard against abutting property owners for street improvements, instead of the present \$2.50 a square yard.

Poor—To take Milwaukee from the list of cities of the first class in Wisconsin and put it in a class by itself.

A. E. Braun—To give the city power to license automobiles.

Aldermen Braun and McKinley are the only old party members, who have introduced resolutions, the others are Social Democrats.

A. S.

## PROVIDENCE, R. I.

Holds Fine Meeting with McGuigan as Speaker.

Providence, R. I., December 18.—Section Providence, Socialist Labor Party, held a most interesting meeting at 98 Weybosset street last Tuesday evening. Henry O'Neil presided and delivered a brief address of welcome to those present.

James McGuigan was the principal speaker. He said in part:

"Socialism is the collective ownership of all that property which must be used collectively in the reproduction of wealth. It is now agitating the minds of the people and will before long become an all-important factor.

"What is capitalism? It is scientific barbarism. It is the bringing of murder down to science. It is the power of one man to crush another and it is guilty of every crime in the calendar.

"There are now billions of dollars in the United States treasury under the control of the captains of industry, and money is being begged on the streets to feed the poor. A working man slaves from cradle to the grave, and then has to depend on an insurance company to give him decent burial.

"Capitalism works the very marrow out of the bones of little children for gold. The little ones are stunted. Their lives are clouded. Existence is made miserable. For what? That a captain of industry may roll in wealth on the soft side of life.

"Capitalism persecutes our women. It knows no sex, no age save old age, and it would shoot that if it could. Its God is the almighty dollar, and that comes before church, religion or judgment.

"Our homes are plundered by the employing class. If the working class received the full value of the wealth that they produce, misery would be done away with. It would give a working man a home, keep his child in that home give him time for his family, and give him means to bring up his children in the way intended by the Divine Master.

"Our present system is organized crime. We are living in a land of the rich and a home of the slave. It is crushing manhood. At the present it is not necessary for the boss and the workman to speak the same language. They get along by signs. A man now is merely a part of a machine. If he drops, put another in his place.

"The United States is in a condition of early Rome and Greece. Rome, the mistress of the world, fell when the people were pauperized and 90 per cent of the wealth was in the hands of a few. We are practically in the same strait and have not much time to waste.

"The Socialist weapon is knowledge. The capitalists fear us. Why do they propagate adulterate knowledge in the schools, colleges and universities? Let us have the truth in economics."

## THE DAY THAT IS DAWNING.

By Alexander Ralph.

The stolid sluggard asleep in his hut,  
Sees not the day that is dawning,  
And he grunts 'twixt snores, tho' his  
eyes are shut,  
"It never will be morning."

The bleary-eyed reveller laughs loud at  
the feast,  
"By Bacchus, 'twill never be morning!"  
But e'en as he shouts a faint flush in  
the east,  
Heralds the day that is dawning.

A man and a maid, two cooling doves,  
Feel not the flush of the dawning,  
They see the new blown rose of their  
loves,  
But not the rose of the morning.

The scholar mumbles his musty lore,  
Cares not for the freshness of morning,  
Delves down to the dust of learning's  
core,  
Cares not for the dew of the dawning.

But we, Oh comrades, high up on the  
slope,  
Drink in the breath of the morning,  
It stirs the soul, it wakes one's hope,  
For the aureate day that is dawning.

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# Co-Operatives and Socialism

SPEECH DELIVERED BY JULES GUESDE BEFORE THE JULY, 1910,  
PARIS CONGRESS OF THE FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY : : : :

Translated for the Daily People by  
Jaime de Angulo, Baltimore, Md.

## Comrades:

I will detain you for a few moments because I am very tired and also because the party to which I belong has at its disposal only two hours, and I would not like to block those of my friends who desire to develop before you their ideas upon the question in order.

What I wish to do, and I believe it is necessary to do it, in order that we may speak with a knowledge of the case, is to examine what co-operation is in itself.

Co-operation is simply one of the forms of association, a means of grouping in modern society; it even belongs sometimes to the class of ordinary stock societies, with this only difference that the share offered by the co-operative barely reaches 100 francs, while the shares of capitalist societies go above 500, or even 1000 francs. And it is because co-operation is nothing but a form of association or grouping that you see it advocated by all social opinions and categories. Co-operation has even been advocated as—what shall I say?—as nascent Socialism; co-operators, some of them even workmen, have set themselves from the start against the class-conscious organization of the proletariat. I recall, when I returned from banishment in 1886—not to go back very far in the past—the state of mind of the first Syndicalist Congress in Arras Hall. The syndicates of that time were exclusively co-operators and carried co-operation, which they called the brotherhood of capital and labor, so far that in their public meetings, when a portion of the proletariat was driven to fight under the form of a strike and they came as far as Paris to ask us for contributions, that is ammunition for our struggling brothers, Chabert, to name only one of them, rose against the collection for the benefit of the striking workmen of Monceau-les-Mines, claiming that it would be impossible for our hard-working class, which since a few years was treading the road of co-operation, to uphold a strike without contradicting itself, even though said strike be born outside itself and forced on its victims by capitalist greediness.

Revillon—It is an easy thing to make the dead speak!

Guesde—I ask the testimonial of all our Parisian comrades, not one of whom will rise to belie me. What I wished to establish with this page from yesterday's history is that this form of association, of grouping, which co-operation is, can be put to all sorts of use, and is of value to us Socialists, only according to the use it is turned to. Leaving history aside, I will now turn your attention simply to what is happening in a neighboring country. Take Belgium, there you see admirable socialistic co-operatives; but you see others, powerful ones, too, organized by the clerical party, by the liberal party. And I ask you whether this co-operation, thus cooked with all the different sorts of sauces, conservative, clerical, bourgeois here, socialistic and revolutionary there, is not enough to prove that the co-operative in itself has absolutely nothing socialistic? Co-operation and co-operatives become socialistic when they are made to help towards reaching the aim pursued by socialism, viz., the gathering into the same social hands of all the means of production and exchange. Any joining on a small scale of capital and labor in the same individual hands, such as is done by even the best co-operatives, is necessarily powerless, as long as in other co-operatives capital is still furnished by one and labor by others.

Co-operatives therefore are and can be of value only through the use they are put to. In the measure in which this form of grouping or association serves and helps the Socialist Party, it certainly becomes a sort of arsenal bringing arms to the fighting proletariat. But there lies the exclusive sense of socialist co-operation. If co-operation remains autonomous, if workmen gather and say: "We are going to ease our life by purveying our families with more articles for consumption, which we will buy in common, at wholesale prices so as to benefit by the difference with retail prices," no doubt this is a respectable aim. I understand very well that in our present state of society the workers try to ease as much of their misery as they can, and to give their families as much satisfaction as they can. I am not at all condemning those co-

operatives; they are according to workmen's rights, that is understood. But I must note, on the other hand, that if these means of diminishing their misery and rendering their life more bearable were generalized, instead of being as to-day an exception in the present state of affairs, the fatal consequence would be that the cost of living having become cheaper, wages would not increase or would even decrease. (Interruption and applause.)

I know very well that when I express myself thus, I go against the opinion of some of my comrades; but they will explain their opinion in a little while and I assure them I will listen to them with all the patience that I beg from them. (Applause.)

I repeat therefore that without any doubt, if consumer's co-operatives were generalized in the country, if they became the rule instead of an isolated fact, there would be two reasons why the morrow of these co-operatives would be either a stagnation or a lowering of wages. The first reason, the one brought forth by Lafargue, is that the bosses were the first ones to use this means: railroad companies, big industrialists, turned towards co-operatives born out of their own initiative when they refuse to increase the wages of their employees, saying to them: now you can live very well, with the cost of living thus reduced. There lies the first proof; but there is another one: everywhere, in all the localities, one may see that wages are higher where life is dearer, lower where life is cheaper. Why are wages higher in Paris than in the Normand country or in the center of France? It is because in Paris, due to the cost of living, life is more expensive, and nobody will deny that the high or low cost of living has an influence over the rate of wages. There is no question here of the iron law of Lassalle, I leave that aside. I speak purely and simply of a general fact which is within the reach of anybody who has eyes to see.

I am coming now to a third proof of my contention. In the resolution drawn up by the majority from the Seine, do they not tell you expressly: "We must do away with commercial parasitism, through co-operation?" Well now, what you call commercial parasitism is represented in France by a million or twelve hundred thousand small tradesmen. They manage to live somehow or other from the product of their shops, and at the expense of the workman consumer, certainly; but after you close their shops they will have to keep on living. And then it will be a million or twelve hundred thousand new proletarians whom hunger will throw upon the labor market, and what will be the consequence of these twelve hundred thousand new unemployed coming on top of the unemployed already in existence? Will not this new reserve army forcibly be the cause of reduced salaries? Will not the bosses, seeing more workers at their doors than they need, shave the wages of those at work? Come now, comrades! (Applause) If the co-operatives were being extended all over the country, wages would fall to be reduced on some points.

Do you want another example, taken from to-day and not from to-morrow? Which is the occidental country—and I am sure none of those who belong to that country and happen to be here will belie me, nor reproach me for giving it as an example in this circumstance—which is the neighboring country the workers of which pass the frontier in great numbers and come to work in our Northern France, either permanently or intermittently? Is it not Belgium, are they not our Belgian comrades? And why do they migrate so? Because in Belgium the wages are lowest, and they are lowest because Belgium is flooded with co-operatives of all colors. (Interruptions and applause.)

There is still another reason why co-operatives can have no socialist value. I know that I myself, when once I tried to throw light into bourgeois brains, in the Chamber of Deputies, when they refused to understand that a new society, our socialist society could be substituted for the capitalist society of which ours is at once the natural and legitimate child. I was obliged, in order to try to open their eyes, to make comparisons—which are not always reasons. I took co-operation as an example which could give them an idea of what the society of to-morrow would be, and I took co-operatives, not such as they are working now, but such as they should work by definition, and I said to them: "See how in the co-opera-

tives for production the union of capital and labor in the same hands does away with all exploitation; see how in the co-operatives for consumption all antagonism between seller and buyer who henceforth are one and the same man is done away with just as with profit of one at the expense of the other."

The question was to make them foresee, through an ideal co-operative, what would be and shall be a society in which neither the production nor the distribution of products will give rise to profits or exploitation. But, as well try to open the eyes of the blind, or make the deaf hear me. (Laughter.)

At the present time anyhow, our co-operatives do not at all belong to this order of things. Nearly all of them are obliged by the capitalist milieu, to go in for capitalism themselves, for instead of selling only to their members at the price of cost, they are more and more obliged to sell to outsiders for the sake of profits. The antagonism between seller and buyer, which it was the role of co-operation to abolish, is still in existence. I admit there are exceptions. But as a rule you are more and more compelled by a milieu based upon competition to look for means of existence and development outside the distribution of products; you are compelled to sell to the public; to realize profits, to go in for commerce; in a word, you thus become only a new sort of department store, constituted by small workmen—shareholders instead of department stores constituted by large bourgeois shareholders. (Applause.)

Such is reality. It is no use going off on illusions; such is and will be more and more that Co-operation, which they would have us look upon as nascent Socialism. To imagine that it could be otherwise in our present society, would be to fall back upon the Utopias of former days, represented by Fourier and his "phalanstery," or Cabot and his "Icaria." To pretend that you can go in for anything but capitalism in a capitalist society is really an unheard-of folly. General laws, born out of the form of property, impose themselves, and those people who want to build oases in the desert cannot escape those laws; the oasis will be swept by the silt from just as the desert is. And the oasis in this case is the Co-operative, forced to bow before commercial or mercantile necessities. I know that you can remedy this evil partly by confederating your societies, and I congratulate you for entering upon and persevering in this road; but, once more, whatever you do upon co-operative ground, you cannot help being governed by all the laws which determine and regulate production and exchange in the society for profit of to-day.

I repeat therefore that it is impossible to attach any socialist value to Co-operation in itself. It does not even prepare the elements of the new society, prepared as they have been for a long time, both as material and organization, by capitalist concentration which preceded co-operation by far and in proportions which it will never equal. It is precisely because, thanks to this capitalist concentration, all the work to-day is one of administration, direction, execution, the most scientific sort of work as well as the most manual, executed by hired men, that we can exchange any day, without any shock, the present order of things for a new one. Everything is ready for this transformation or revolution, because the nominal property of the capitalists of to-day, does not represent any sort of work, even of directing, and it may disappear to-morrow without anything being touched or destroyed in the operating of the different sorts of industries: factories, fields, railroads, stores, etc.

There you have the conditions which not only do more than allow collectivist order but render it necessary. Co-operation does not enter there for an atom, and when I heard this morning our friend Polson saying: "But, if to-morrow you became the masters of the government before co-operatives had covered the country, how would you establish the new society?" I thought that Comrade Polson was imagining useless nightmares. We can, once we conquer power, realize the whole of Socialism, what in America they call the co-operative commonwealth, because Co-operation is not a means, but the aim of the proletariat. It will then triumph and gather into the hands of the whole of society all capital and all labor, so that there shall be no more exploita-

tion, sale, nor profits. Co-operation, I say, is not a means—or it can only be one of the means, if co-operatives bring their help to militant Socialism. Yes, the co-operatives' only value is to coin money, to furnish the workmen's party with arms and ammunition. It is not the duty of the party to help the Co-operatives, but it is the strict duty of the Co-operatives to help materially the party with all their strength.

The Co-operative as an auxiliary to the party—that is how we have always viewed the problem, and how we have always worked towards its solution. This morning they spoke of our former campaigns with some contempt, comparing us to sky-lark hunters with mirrors. My answer is that we have never made to shine before the eyes of the workers any but good living realities. We, the Socialists, were the first ones to take the initiative of the co-operative movement in the North; I, with a comrade from the Bouches-du-Rhône, went in 1885 to Roubaix there to organize the first socialist Co-operative: "L'Avenir du Parti Ouvrier." I don't mean to say that there were no Co-operatives already in existence, but all were of a bossist or clerical type. Those Co-operatives destroyed any class-conscious spirit in the workmen who belonged to them. All they found there was a material advantage for themselves and their families. We told them: come to the socialist Co-operative, you will find in it not only a low price store, but also powder and bullets for your everyday struggles, strikes and elections, and therefore a new means of emancipation. And remembering the old saying of Esop, "The tongue is at once the best and the worst," I added: Co-operatives are the worst things if they tend only to lower the cost of living, for the benefit of the bosses; they are the best, if they tend to constitute as many citadels for the Party and bring to it new resources for the battle of final freedom. (Applause.)

There, comrades, is what distinguishes us from other comrades who think differently. However, I will add that if they should show us that we are wrong, that Co-operation in itself is Socialism a-borning, how many things have already been represented as Socialism a-borning, just to make the workers forget it, when they have nothing to hope for outside it! Yes, if they would show me that there really is an embryo which only needs to be developed, to-morrow's society in the germ, I would surely renounce my fears and welcome the new light brought to the proletariat. But until now, not one argument has been offered me. And I am bound to say once more that Co-operatives, as they are operated to-day, have nothing in common with Socialism; if they do not contribute with their dollars and cents to the struggles the working class has to undergo, they may and oftenest do become a diversion if not an obstacle to the recruiting and developing of the Socialist movement; a diversion, because—and you cannot deny it—when an elite of workmen put their intelligence into a Co-operative, when they carry inside their heads nothing but commercial schemes how to create a custom for it, how to secure its prosperity and development, there is no room left in brains thus occupied, for the socialist idea, no more time for the socialist education of the masses, to whom we cannot repeat often enough that there is only one means of emancipation, viz., the capturing of the political power, and by the help of it, of the capitalist property, industrial and commercial. As I wrote once, the co-operative mustard catches easiest those who could render incalculable services to propaganda, but who, hemmed in, confiscated, paralyzed by a necessarily commercial work, become on the contrary dead losses to the struggling proletariat from whom they were torn away. (Applause.)

Comrades, in the industrial realm of the factory, Co-operation brings nothing to the Socialist movement but the funds it can contribute when it is a Socialist Co-operative. But there is another realm where Co-operation can play a great and useful role: the realm of the country. Ah! the socialist idea, the idea of a society owning its means of production, utilizing them socially, and distributing between all its members the products of a common labor: in the industrial towns it is the factory which does the work of teaching this freedom-giving notion to the workmen, it is the factory, with its work in common, which puts up in front of the workers

the necessity of collectivist or communist society. Hence no need there for the Co-operatives' school: the communism of the shop is enough. But in the country, it is different; there we have small scattered landowners, cultivating individually their bits of land; they, too, are exploited by capitalism in several ways, but no common action or association unites or joins them together. Co-operation presents itself as the very thing to create this bond, this common interest. A Co-operative which brings together 500 vineyard farmers, takes them out of their individualism, initiates them to the work in common, teaches them solidarity; it does not prepare, as some people claim, the Co-operation or Socialization of the ground; that will be the work of the new society—no, but it prepares the formerly individualistic brain of the peasant for that society in which the individualistic character of property has here a really Socialistic meaning, because it has an educational meaning. But do not claim that it would have a similar meaning in the towns, for I will tell you once more that it is the factory, the exploitation in common which, by creating laboring collectivities, is the best school of collectivism—by showing them that the collectivist society is not only possible but necessary to human liberation.

I spoke at such length, because it seemed to me necessary to say certain things, however ill I be. But I am going to stop, and here is my conclusion:

The Co-operatives in existence to-day have either been founded by Socialists, or penetrated by them. In those where they have penetrated they must promote the idea, the party they represent. In those which they founded, they must increase to its maximum the material collaboration given the idea and the party. Anyway, I hope there will not be a single comrade in this Congress to preach the Co-operatives of the North for having served, as they did, the cause of Socialism! It would be too frightful that Socialists should make themselves the echoes against our Co-operatives, of our worst enemies among the bosses. What Motte and the other great bosses of the North, cannot forgive them, what they throw in their faces as an insult, is that they are the milch cows of the revolutionists! And you would take up this language here! (Applause.) No, you will not want to unarm our brothers over there in accordance and with the arms of the pillars of the capitalist class. You will let the Co-operators of the North do their duty as Socialists. If you knew how beautiful a scene it is in the general meetings, when man, woman and child are present! they do not come there only to receive a "dividend," they come to know the use to which has been put this dividend which they have abandoned to the Party, to the collectivist future, to the general emancipation of mankind! You would have to be present at a general session of the Union de Lille, for instance; then I am sure that you would not hear one single speaker pronounce words such as I had the sorrow to hear this morning, meaning precisely these Co-operatives of the North, which are at the lead of the whole French co-operative movement, don't forget it. Have you got in Paris Co-operatives like ours, helping all the battles with their strike funds, unemployment funds, etc.? I am very glad to greet the Co-operatives of the Seine, but don't forget that your elders over there gave you the example, which you ought to follow to the end. (Prolonged applause.)

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33 City Hall Place, New York.  
P. O. Box 1576. Tel. 129 New York.  
Published every Saturday by the  
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.  
Paul Augustine, National Secretary.  
Frederick W. Ball, National Treasurer.

Entered as second-class matter at the  
New York Post Office, July 13, 1900.  
Owing to the limitations of this office,  
correspondents are requested to keep a copy  
of their articles, and not to expect them to  
be returned. Consequently, no stamps  
should be sent for return.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.  
In 1888 ..... 2,068  
In 1892 ..... 21,157  
In 1896 ..... 36,664  
In 1900 ..... 74,191  
In 1904 ..... 34,172  
In 1908 ..... 14,237

Subscription Rates: One year, \$1.00;  
six months, 50c.; three months, 25c.

All communications for the Weekly  
People, whether for editorial or business  
departments, must be addressed to: The  
Weekly People, P. O. Box 1576, New York  
City.

Subscribers should watch the labels on  
their papers and renew promptly in order  
not to miss any copies.

Subscribers will begin to get the paper  
regularly in two weeks from the date when  
their subscriptions are sent in.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1910.

The Master of Revels bids mortals be  
merry;  
His reign is not over till Candlemas  
day,  
Old fogies in business their faces may  
bury;  
Let's scramble for apples and nuts  
while we may.

—ELLERY BERGH.

## JULES GUESDE ON CO-OPERATIVES.

A treat is offered to the readers of The  
People in the speech "Co-operatives" and  
Socialism" pronounced by Jules Guesde  
at this year's national convention of his  
party in Paris, and published elsewhere  
in this issue.

The economics of the speech are clear  
as crystal, the reasoning cogent. In  
these days, when the "Co-operative"  
scheme spooks in many a head in this  
country, Guesde's critique is of interest—  
and it is especially so for us in a country  
like ours. Over and above the dangers  
that cluster around the "Co-operative" in  
France, or Europe in general, the specific  
circumstance of a fluent population, that  
is blown into the United States from all  
the four quarters of the compass, renders  
the "Co-operative" scheme specifically  
ticklish and fraught with perils for us.

But there is one passage in Guesde's  
speech that is pre-eminent big with  
sense and warning. It contains so pro-  
found an observation that it applies not  
to "Co-operatives" only. Guesde says:

"The 'Co-operatives' may and oftenest  
do become a diversion, if not an obstacle,  
to the recruiting and developing of the  
Socialist Movement—a diversion because,  
and you can not deny it, when an elite  
of workingmen put their intelligence into  
a 'Co-operative,' when they carry inside  
their heads nothing but commercial  
schemes how to create a custom for it,  
how to secure its property and develop-  
ment, there is no room left in brains so  
occupied for the Socialist idea, no more  
time for the Socialist education of the  
masses. . . . The 'Co-operative' must-  
ard catches easiest those who could  
render incalculable services to propa-  
ganda, but who, hemmed in, confiscated,  
paralyzed by a necessarily commercial  
work, become on the contrary dead losses  
to the struggling proletarian from whom  
they are torn away."

Substitute for the "Co-operative" in  
this sentence the pure and simple Union,  
any Union other than the up-to-the-  
handle revolutionary Union, and the  
parallel is exact. The identical danger  
presented by the "Co-operative" or tear-  
ing otherwise valuable elements away  
from the proletariat is seen latent in the  
pure and simple Union. Hence the love  
and affection of the bourgeois for both  
drawbacks upon the Socialist Movement  
—the "Co-operative" and the Pure and  
Simple Union.

Guesde's estimate of the "Co-operative"  
is at once a lecture on the absolute  
necessity of the Union being revolution-  
ary, otherwise it becomes non- if not  
anti-revolutionary.

## Knights Charter Shoe Cutters.

Washington, D. C., December 23.—The  
request of the National Assembly of  
Boot & Shoe Cutters for permission to  
admit to membership all stitchers con-  
nected with the shoe industry has been  
approved by General Master Workman  
Hayes of the Knights of Labor and the  
national assembly charter broadened to  
cover this trade.

## Coat Pressers Want More Leisure.

The coat pressers' branch of the  
Brotherhood of Tailors, it was reported  
yesterday by its officers, is preparing for  
a general strike for a shorter workday.  
A fifty-hour working week will be de-  
manded. According to the pressers, they  
work at present from twelve to fifteen  
hours a week.

About 10,000 pressers will go out.

## POPULISM YCLEPT SOCIALISM.

In its issue of the 17th of this month  
the Milwaukee "Social Democratic Her-  
ald," Congressman Berger's organ, pub-  
lishes a list of "Socialistic Proposals."  
Two, among the lot, deserve notice.

One provides: "State government to  
advance loans to settlers for use for  
agriculture, market gardening, dairy or  
stock raising purposes. Such loans to be  
issued upon fixed or installment mort-  
gages upon the farm at a low rate of  
interest. Borrowers to have the right  
to repay the loan partly or wholly at  
any time, or in twenty installments."

No one at all acquainted with Social-  
ist literature will fail to recognize in  
this demand a chip from the magnificent  
heap of ruins that Marx made of Proudhon  
and his bank.

Governmental money support is of two  
kinds—

One kind is that which the large labor  
employer in power has the power to give  
unto himself. It is called by a variety  
of names—"subvention," "subsidy,"  
"loan," etc., it always becomes a gift  
without recall. Such support, needless to  
say, is useful to the donee. It is a  
"short cut across lots" whereby he places  
himself in short order in possession of  
the lump capital that he otherwise would  
have to squeeze drop by drop from his  
wage slaves.

The other kind of governmental money  
support is that which the small labor  
employer, who, therefore, is out of  
power, requests be doled out to him by  
the large labor employer in power. Such  
support, if at all secured, only fastens  
a millstone around the neck of the  
"beneficiary." All the ramifications of  
the law of Exchange Value work towards  
rendering such support an illusion and  
delusion that pervert the beneficiary's  
angle of vision, and turn him into a  
squirrel in a wheel, ever moving, never  
getting further.

The other proposal reads:—

"Enact a law granting every wage  
worker over 60 years of age, who has  
earned less than \$1,000 a year and has  
been a citizen of the United States for  
sixteen years at least, a pension of not  
less than \$12 a month for the rest of his  
or her life."

Who seemingly upon a different sub-  
ject this second proposal is like unto the  
first. It is the expenditure of 51 words  
to express that which can be expressed  
in 6—the poor-house for old proletarians.  
This proposal matches the first. Nos-  
to-the-grindstone small farmers, starva-  
tion-pensioned pauper workers are differ-  
entiations of the same thing.

If this is the Socialism Berger is to  
advocate in Congress, then he and the  
thing will be roundly laughed at. Popu-  
lism survives to-day only as antique  
ruins. The country has outgrown the  
thing. The Populist era accomplished  
this much for our people. It enlight-  
ened them upon the map of the future—  
either Socialism or a return to Feudal  
Lords and serfs.

## ANOTHER DEATH-BED CONFESSION.

A Michigander, John H. Baker—ex-car-  
manufacturer, ex-stockholder in banks,  
and ex-director of Trust Companies—re-  
cently died in Michigan City leaving a  
large fortune, more than \$10,000,000, and  
a single child.

The biographies of the deceased make  
him out, what he probably was, a self-  
made man, who sprang up from poverty  
and small beginnings landing finally in  
Asiatic luxury. The biographic sketches  
make no statements concerning the econ-  
omic or political theories entertained  
by the late lamented; leastwise do they  
quote any sentiments given vent to by  
him in relation to social questions. Nor  
are these necessary. Sufficient is said  
about the dead multimillionaire to sup-  
ply the deficiency. No doubt he has  
many a time and oft held the language  
of his tribe, and, pointing out himself,  
illustrated the principle that "nothing  
makes the man like hardships in youth;  
nothing weakens the body and the mind  
of the youth like affluence."

The will that John H. Baker made  
should test the principle.—The \$10,000-  
000, left over after paying several small  
bequests, were left to whom? To the  
children of the testator's worst enemy?  
Surely to them the treasury should go  
so as to insure the weakness of their  
mind and body; so as to make sure they  
will not enjoy the body-and-mind-promot-  
ing blessings of hardship. Well, the  
treasury was not disposed of in any such  
manner. Then, perhaps, Mr. Baker,  
being too good a Christian to inflict ills  
upon anyone, ordered his wealth to be  
burnt up and the ashes scattered to the  
four winds? No; wrong again. How,  
then, was the colossal fortune of  
\$10,000,000 disposed of in the will? It  
was left to the testator's dearest being,  
to his own child, and, not satisfied with  
leaving his millions to his own child, he  
left the amount so tied up that THE  
CHILD CAN NOT TOUCH THE PRIN-  
CIPAL DURING LIFE. The huge in-  
come the child can use: the colossal capi-  
tal that yields the affluence-insuring in-  
come is to be left unimpaired, ever ready  
to yield as much, at least, every year.

Hardships do not improve the man or  
woman. None know that better than

the opulent. Their declamation in favor  
of hardships is but one of the many  
falshoods that their opposition to So-  
cialism forces them into, and which their  
wills, death-bed confessions, deny.

## THE USES OF POLITICAL ACTION.

It is gratifying to be able to pluck  
from the thorny stalk of the Milwaukee  
Social Democracy a flower the perfume  
of which should go far to disinfect the  
Labor Movement of a certain paralysis-  
producing microbe that the plutocratic  
regime breeds, and whose insidious ap-  
proaches the plutocratic regime facili-  
tates. That microbe is the microbe vari-  
ously termed "Direct Action Only,"  
"Physical Force Only," "Dynamite,"  
veiled and unveiled—Anarchy, in short.

In the course of the strike of the  
David Adler & Sons Garment Workers  
in Milwaukee; at the familiar critical  
point reached by most all strikes when  
Exploitation, being de facto defeated,  
the scales are suddenly turned in its  
favor by the interposition of the "Injun-  
ction"; and when rumors grew rife that  
the judicial wing of the David Adler &  
Sons class was on the point of dropping  
the mask of neutrality and appearing in  
its true colors, the engine of Exploita-  
tion;—at that time and season the So-  
cial Democratic Alderman Melms, as  
reported elsewhere in this issue from  
Milwaukee, announced: "If any Judge  
dares serve an injunction on the strikers,  
it will be his finish as a Judge, for the  
Socialists will see to it that he shall  
never again be elected judge."

This was the right word. It settled  
the strike. The employer surrendered.

So long as the classes exist there  
exists a conflict between them. So long  
as this conflict lasts the several branches  
of the political government will neces-  
sarily be swayed by whichever class has  
the superior power. Economic power the  
proletariat has none. Economic power  
being in the long run the determining  
factor, the proletariat is bound, in the  
long run, to remain under-dog,—in the  
long run, that is to say, until capitalism  
is overthrown and classes ended. Never-  
theless, at periods and intervals, the  
proletariat can turn to use that in which  
it excels the capitalist. That is its  
numbers. The first field on which to  
assert this superiority is the field of  
Political Action. On that field many a  
skirmish can be won. In the dog eat dog  
social system of capitalism where class  
must hit class, the myriad proletarian  
ballot can at intervals match the myriad  
capitalist capital.

An ample experience establishes the  
theory. The Social Democratic Alder-  
man Melms's words and their immediate  
effect confirm the theory. Political  
Action is a weapon, a useful, an indis-  
pensable weapon in the arsenal of the  
Labor Movement. It is harmful only  
when held to be the only weapon. Then  
it is as harmful as that other and twin  
weapon—physical force, turned into  
"Physical Force Only."

## THE FRESNO MYSTERY.

Fresno, Calif., papers with date of the  
10th of this month have reached this  
office giving fuller details than straggling  
despatches have hitherto of "the burning  
of the I. W. W. headquarters" by a mob,  
and other acts of violence committed  
upon the men in the camp. The informa-  
tion in the Fresno papers is now supple-  
mented by a San Francisco correspon-  
dence, which appears in another column  
of this issue. Nevertheless, there is some  
mystery about the affair. The "punish-  
ment does not fit the crime"; the effect  
does not square with the cause.

The action of the mob was an act of  
rage. It partook of the animus of a  
lynching bee. However reprehensible,  
illegal, criminal a lynching performance  
is, it has at its bottom some popular  
irritation, intense enough to blind, and  
to evoke mass immediate action. The  
simple fact of speaking at street corners  
can not be a provocative of such out-  
breaks of mass fury. It may provoke  
official wrong, police brutality—a mass  
outbreak never. The Fresno papers make  
no mention of any adequate provocation.  
Nor does the wild-eyed argument of  
"more 'direct action' and less 'talking,'" reported by our to-day's San Francisco  
correspondent as a feature of the ora-  
tions of a leading Fresno "I. W. W."  
speaker, fill the blank. Such ranting  
does not incense masses to immediate  
resentment; it is more likely to induce  
mass mirth. What, then, can have pro-  
voked the violent mass outbreak?

In the absence of more definite infor-  
mation one is left to the theory of prob-  
abilities. A starting point is furnished  
by the words "camp" and "tent," used  
both in the Fresno papers and our corre-  
spondent's letter.

I. W. W. "headquarters" that consist  
of a "tent and supplies," whatever else  
they may be are no headquarters of the  
I. W. W. The I. W. W. is no lodging  
house proposition. It is a class-conscious  
organized working class proposition. The  
"camp and tent" proposition is sugges-  
tive of a gypsy encampment. What gypsy  
encampments are is well known—stroll-  
ing centers of thievery, whither poultry

and other "supplies," occasionally

moneys, not infrequently young girls  
also, surreptitiously gathered from the  
neighborhood, are secreted. The con-  
clusions, arrived at from the starting  
point of "tent" and "supplies," gather  
confirmation from specific utterances of  
the recognized leaders and organs of the  
tenting I. W. W. itself.

These organs have specifically ad-  
vocate, preached, recommended theft.  
They have glorified the thing. They  
have given enthusiastic accounts of the  
procession of their members stealing  
chickens as they, the members, marched.  
Only most recently, their editor Hart-  
well S. Shippey coolly defended embezzle-  
ment. They have ridiculed as "aristo-  
crats" and "freaks" those in the Labor  
Movement who spurn such methods as  
the slummary whence Anarchy proceeds,  
or whither it inevitably leads to. Nor  
have their leaders failed themselves to  
practice what they preached. The  
manifesto of James Wilson, their op-  
timate editor, since mysteriously deceased,  
left emblazoned in cold type how moneys,  
gathered for the "Spokane Free Speech  
Fight Martyrs," were misappropriated  
while the dupes starved; and J. H.  
Walsh, their idolized originator of "raids  
on chicken coups" as a "revolutionary  
means," now, after raiding the treasury  
of an Omaha Union, walks the highways  
of the West as a living illustration of  
theory practised. Finally, they have  
clinched the point by themselves proudly  
proclaiming themselves "bums," whence  
their name "I'm-a-bummary."

The theory of probabilities affords  
some explanation to the Fresno Mystery.  
According to the theory, as stated in  
these columns two weeks ago, when the  
first straggling news despatches arrived  
from Fresno, the Fresno incident justifies  
the conclusion that "I'm-a-bum rowdy-  
ism on a small scale has evoked rowdy-  
ism on a larger scale."

Unsteady wobbles the pen of "The  
Call" in its reports of the shoe workers'  
strike in Brooklyn. Gagged by the scab  
herder Tobin's label—the same as the  
"Volkszeitung" and most other S. P.  
papers are by other such scabbiest con-  
trivances—"The Call" long ignored the strik-  
ers who, as all workmen on the path  
of Labor's emancipation, were bound to  
set on foot a "dual organization" and  
identify the A. F. of L. Labor-lieutenant  
in their trade with their exploiting em-  
ployer. Finally "The Call" was dragged  
by the slack of its reputation "to say  
something." Among the "somethings" it  
says is this introductory paragraph to its  
shoe strikers report in its Christmas eve,  
December 24, issue:

"Christmas will be anything but a sea-  
son of cheer and merrymaking for the  
2,500 men and their families who are on  
strike in the shoe industry in Brooklyn."

This is bosses' language, to slobber  
thus whinefully. The most cheerful  
Christmas the men on strike have ever  
experienced is this one. Men whose chests  
expand with the breath of Anti-Scabbery  
have vastly more cause for cheer and  
merrymaking than the wretches whose  
bellies are filled with the poisonous good-  
ies that humility to the boss and his  
Labor-lieutenants fetch—or that scab-  
label advertisements furnish. Before the  
former is Freedom; before the latter  
Slavery.

Biting on Haywood's out-and-out anti-  
A. F. of L. facts and arguments as  
the serpent in the fable bit on the file,  
the "New Yorker Volkszeitung" declares  
that, as far as it is concerned, the ques-  
tion of the form of Union organization  
remains mainly a "technical problem." A  
new name "technical problem" is for  
bribe-and-hush money. If Industrial  
Unionism could out-bid A. F. of Hellism  
in cash for advs. and "subventions," the  
"technical" aspect of the problem would  
quickly assume a very different aspect  
in the mind's eye of the "New Yorker  
Volkszeitung" which, again and again  
and yet again, has stood, and continues  
to stand by the A. F. of L. "form of  
Union organization," and consequent  
mischief to the proletariat, in considera-  
tion of label advs. and other "Trink-  
gelder" (drinking tips).

## MINER AWARDED \$10,000.

For the loss of his right hand, both  
ear drums and sight of one eye, Adam  
Gelone, a miner, was awarded \$10,000  
damages by the Federal Grand Jury, in  
the United States District Court, yester-  
day.

## REPS. AND DEMS.

Now the voting is over,  
Now the fight is through.  
Gather up the wounded,  
Heal the black and blue.  
Bandage up the adverbs  
And the pronouns quaint;  
Rub the nouns with liniments  
As they limp and faint.

Adjectives are writhing  
With contorted joints,  
Pierced by several thousand  
Exclamation points,  
Interjections wander  
In a pallid trance—  
Take away the ballot box  
Laugh and let us dance.

## OUT OF A JOB AT FIFTY

ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE WORKINGMAN THEN TO FIND WORK OR WAGES.

"The man of fifty may know that his  
faculties are keener than ever before;  
that his experience is riper, his judge-  
ment sounder, his constitution and ha-  
bits more stable, and his power of steady,  
even application greater. But he can't  
persuade the world to share in his belief.  
What, then, is he to do when he finds  
himself by some mischance thrown out  
of employment?"

"Three courses seem to be open to  
him, omitting suicide from considera-  
tion. He may give up the struggle al-  
together and stay at home tending the  
babies, while his womenfolk earn a me-  
ager living for the family. He may drop  
back and round out his life where he  
began it in an inferior position. Or—  
and this appears to be the most practical  
solution of his difficulty—he may resort  
to cosmetics face-foots, hair-restorers,  
and the other agencies for obliterating  
the footprints of time. By presenting  
a false front to the world he may im-  
pose his assumed uselessness upon it un-  
til concealment becomes no longer pos-  
sible. But the subject is too pitifully  
serious for jocularity."

This writes Forbes Lindsay in Har-  
per's weekly, describing his own in-  
effectual search for employment after  
reaching the "dead line." In his incisive  
style the writer proceeds:

"I believed the current statements  
about the difficulty of a man of fifty se-  
curing employment to be greatly ex-  
aggerated. After a fair test, I am fully  
satisfied of their truth. The week that  
I recently spent in the search for some-  
thing to do was the most dismal of my  
life. I was constantly in touch with  
others whose hunt was in grim earnest—  
all sorts and conditions of men reduced  
to dire need and fast falling victims  
of despair. I hope that I may never  
again have so depressing an experience.

"The first step in my investigation  
was the insertion in a daily paper of  
the following advertisement:

"American, just past 50; wife and  
children; wide experience of business;  
knowledge of foreign countries and  
trade conditions; college education;  
good habits; excellent health; mental  
and physical vigor; tested executive abili-  
ty; unquestionable reference, etc."

"I met with a surprise at the outset.  
I had expected to draw a reply from  
every insurance company in the country  
and half the other concerns that similar-  
ly employ solicitors on commission. But  
evidently they are bitten with the pre-  
vailing prejudice against the man who  
has passed his meridian. One answer  
to my appeal invited me to call if I  
desired a 'position as a solicitor.' I did  
not desire such a position, and so did  
not call.

"In five instances I found myself one  
of a number of applicants, all or them  
as old as myself, by reason of the fact  
that like me they had availed themselves  
of a special section of the paper de-  
voted to the wants of 'men past fifty.'  
I learned that the successful candidate in  
each of these cases agreed to work for  
a salary of less than twenty dollars a  
week, and in one instance it was no  
more than twelve dollars. Yet all the  
positions demanded considerable experi-  
ence and ability. I had no reason to  
believe that these employers preferred  
men of fifty to younger ones, and I  
strongly suspected that they engaged  
them because their services were se-  
cured at a bargain. A later experience  
strengthened this suspicion.

"Of three other responses to my over-  
ture one led me to the business place  
of a large exporting-house. At a speci-  
fied day and hour, after an office-boy had  
read my letter and asked me a number  
of impertinent questions, I was shown  
into the room of the junior partner of  
the firm. He was a man of about thirty-  
five, steely-eyed and heavy-jawed, with  
aquiline nose and lips like scissors that  
clipped off the ends of his words—the  
sort that will never be looking for a  
job at fifty, because before that age he  
will be either a millionaire or a suicide.  
He made a point of not noticing my  
entrance for two or three minutes, and  
then he wheeled round in his chair as  
though he had expected to catch me in  
the act of picking his pockets. He nod-  
ded me into a seat with a smile as cold  
and reluctant as the drippings from an  
ice-chest.

"In a few words he explained that  
his firm contemplated extending its  
operations to certain Oriental markets.  
They wanted some one to make invest-  
igations on the subject, conduct cor-  
respondence, study consular reports, and  
secure information from all available  
sources. Did I consider myself capable  
of undertaking the task?"

"I answered that I was especially  
qualified to do so, that I had spent many  
years in Asiatic countries, had studied  
their trade conditions, and could supply  
a great deal of useful information from

my personal knowledge.

"A few more questions seemed to  
decide the point that I was the very man  
to fill the position, and it was offered to  
me—at fifteen dollars a week! If my  
would-be employer had said 'a million a  
month' I could not have been very much  
more astonished. Here was a concern  
demanding valuable services, on the effi-  
ciency of which large profits would de-  
pend, and offering as remuneration the  
salary of a second-rate stenographer.  
This was clearly a case of seeking to  
take advantage of the necessities of the  
man of fifty. And in my rounds I came  
across several applicants who had en-  
countered similar strategy on the part  
of employers.

"I had one other opportunity to accept  
a job. A manufacturer—probably at-  
tracted by the item of 'mental and phys-  
ical vigor' in my advertisement and  
assuming discretion to be an accompani-  
ment of my age—proposed to hire me  
to join a certain labor organization,  
worm myself into the secrets of the  
leaders, and incidentally thrash one of  
them, with whom the gentleman had, I  
inferred, had a personal difference. This  
plan was cautiously unfolded in the  
course of three interviews and after  
I had been pledged to secrecy. It should  
be added that in this case the compensa-  
tion offered seemed to be fairly ade-  
quate, though I had no means of know-  
ing the size and character of the man  
who was to receive the slugging.

"At the end of three days I had ex-  
hausted the possibilities latent in the  
nine replies to my advertisement. I had  
not gained a glimpse of a position such  
as would have maintained a 'wife and  
children' in ordinary comfort and de-  
cency. Such services as I and a dozen  
others with whom I conversed were able  
to offer, should reasonably command a  
remuneration of \$150 a month. I be-  
lieve that a man of thirty with similar  
qualifications would experience no great  
difficulty in securing that salary, but  
I doubt if one in a thousand applicants  
over fifty years of age would succeed  
in doing so. And yet there is a fair de-  
mand for the services of the older men  
when they can be had for a pittance.

"I was following a beaten track when  
I resorted to a canvass of employers,  
at first discriminately, then haphazard,  
but always in a descending progress.  
This, I discovered, is the usual way  
of the unemployed of the better sort. And  
with their downward gravitation the  
situation becomes constantly more hope-  
less. The farther a man drifts from his  
proper sphere, the smaller his chances  
of making a lodgement. The man of  
fifty out of work should make his hard-  
est fight to remain at his normal level.  
Each step backward is one that he will  
never regain, and the nearer he gets to  
the menial grades the more difficult will  
his quest become.

"I found the companies employing the  
largest number of men to be, contrary to  
my expectation, the least promising.  
Several superintendents and managers  
were good enough to hear my plaint in  
person.

"I found that in the thousands of  
places under a great street-car company  
there was not a niche into which I  
could squeeze. I was considered too  
old for a conductor and not plastic  
enough to be trained as a motorman.

"Toward the close of my dreary quest,  
I found myself begging for a job where-  
ever a business door stood open. I  
sought work as a shipping clerk, store-  
keeper, tally-man, truck-driver—any-  
thing, in fact. But here the prospect  
was more confined than in the field of  
appropriate endeavor. Age did not seem  
to be so much of a detriment, but ex-  
perience was invariably insisted upon,  
and there was occasional display of re-  
sentment that a man should come out  
of the field to which he belonged to com-  
pete in another. Withal I met with the  
greater sympathy and good-will among  
the sweaty horny-handed class. Three  
men who earned every dollar by the  
hardest kind of labor voluntarily lent  
me small sums.

"Among the derelicts that I chanced  
upon were a graduate of Dublin Uni-  
versity with a pocketful of enviable  
testimonials, an electrical engineer who  
had drawn a salary of twelve thousand  
dollars until he resigned his position to  
promote an invention, and a manufac-  
turer who extended the business he in-  
herited from his father and went to  
smash in the recent panic. Neither was  
much older than myself, but they had  
all been seeking employment for several  
months without success. I should note  
as an exception, perhaps, that the en-  
gineer had been engaged for a fort-  
night as a draughtsman at ten dollars  
a week. They were in agreement as to  
the belief that age was the chief, if not

(Continued on page six.)



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—I wonder  
why it is the Socialists must season so  
benign a principle as theirs with the  
sauce of class hatred.

UNCLE SAM—Do they?

B. J.—Why, certainly, they do. Don't  
you know that they preach class hatred?  
U. S.—No, I don't; and what's more,  
I know they don't.

B. J.—Will you deny that the Social-  
ists are always saying that they aim at  
the conquest of power by the working  
class?

U. S.—No; I won't deny that; on the  
contrary, I admit it and approve of it.

B. J.—Very well; and what, pray, do  
you call that if not seasoning a good  
principle with hatred, class hatred? How  
can one class win without another  
losing?

U. S.—It simply can't be done; right  
you are in that.

B. J.—Now, how can you deny that  
that sort of thing is a seasoning of  
hatred? Classes are bad things; where  
they exist rows, conflicts, hatred must  
be. What would be the use of wiping  
out one class to set up another?

U. S.—Now you begin to talk sense.

B. J.—There, then you agree, don't  
you, that this setting up one class and  
setting down of another keeps up class  
rows and hatred?

U. S.—I fully agree that to set up one  
class and set down another, and keeping  
up class distinctions doesn't set us fur-  
ther on the road toward a human exist-  
ence.

B. J.—Well, I'm glad to hear you say  
so. That's what I meant.

U. S.—And, if that means anything, it  
means that you suppose the victory of  
the working class would be similar to the  
victories of all other classes; a change  
of oppressors.

B. J.—That's it.

U. S.—And that is wrong.

B. J.—How so?

U. S.—If you drop a lighted parlor  
match into a box of gunpowder, it will  
explode, eh?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—And if you drop a lighted com-  
mon sulphur match into that box—

B. J.—It will explode likewise.



# CORRESPONDENCE

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

## PREDICTION OVER YEAR AGO.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In regard to the recent crushing of the strike of the French railroad slaves by Premier Briand, the following editorial paragraph which appeared in the Daily People on July 27, 1909, a year and a half ago, is interesting:

"The Briand ministry starts with a declaration that it contemplates 'ending the war between labor and capital by means of an alliance between the two.' Which sounds very much like the millennial forecast of the lamb and the lion fraternizing."

J. de A.  
Baltimore, Md., December 13.

## FEELS NEED OF THE PEOPLE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Having been out of work for some time, I could not send for the Daily People. I have paid up six weeks board now and I am on my feet again. I will not go without the paper as long as I am working.

I have sold a considerable number of pamphlets, notably the "Provoker," and it is a "hot one."

I have been exposing the Socialist party papers' practices right in the local headquarters of that party and their men haven't anything to say. I mentioned the performance of the "Chicago Daily Socialist" of November 30, advertising for scabs, and also the N. Y. "Call's" conduct in the shoe strike.

I wish you a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

James B. Williams.  
Hartford, Conn., December 21.

## THEY HAVE TWO EDITIONS, LOCAL AND NATIONAL.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In the Daily People of Tuesday, December 6, you charge the Chicago "Daily Socialist" with advertising for scabs, on its third page. The members of the Proletarian Club brought us in a copy of that issue, but we could not find the adv. I have come to the conclusion that either some one has "slipped one over on you" or the Chicago "Daily Socialist" sends out a different edition to the West than to the East. The one we looked through was marked "National Edition." If it is a mistake on our part it should be remedied as soon as possible.

L. C. Haller.  
Los Angeles, Cal., December 13.

[The article in The People was written with a copy of the Chicago Daily Socialist of November 30 containing said adv. lying before the writer.—Ass't Editor.]

## S. P. TRICKS AROUSE INDIGNATION.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In not allowing the Socialist Labor Party to appear on the official ballot under its right name, the Socialist party leaders show themselves for what they are, a lot of scheming politicians. While in Philadelphia recently I asked several of my friends how they voted. "Socialist ticket," they answered. When I told them they should be kicked for not voting the S. L. P. ticket, they told me that they could not find it on the ballot. When I explained that it had appeared as the Industrialist party and gave the reason, they were quite indignant at such political tricks played by a Socialist party.

Alfred Gamp.  
Wildwood, N. J., December 17.

## HAYWOOD IN BROOKLYN.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Last night Metropolitan Saenger Hall in Brooklyn was filled to overflowing to hear Haywood at the Warren protest meeting. As he spoke one could hear the ringing voice of Labor, and the response that he received was an example of Labor solidarity and the language that will bring Labor solidarity about.

Haywood was introduced amidst tremendous applause. Among the points he scored were:

"It is rather a unique position I am in—protesting for a man who protested for me; one who was in jail for one who is going to jail; protesting to those who ought to be in jail. I stand before you the personal embodiment of working class solidarity. Without the working class solidarity and labor press I would today be asleep in the soft earth out

West."

Referring to an incident in the Colorado miners' struggle, Haywood said: "The mining men had a private detective in the union and as a result 45 union men were discharged. The union demanded that the men be reinstated and went on strike. 5,000 miners joined in sympathy. 5,000 miners went on strike for 45 mill men. They realized that an injury to one is an injury to all. They had no contracts to break because we have no contracts. Contracts are the auxiliaries of the capitalist class."

He reviewed the struggles of the miners out West and showed how the persecution of the Mine Owners and Citizens' Alliance resulted in the organization of the I. W. W. He said:

"The I. W. W. grew and became rooted and touched the hearts and minds of all civilized people here and abroad. The organization stood for the immediate improvement of the working class with the ultimate purpose of taking over the industries."

Haywood then told of the injunction issued against him in 1892, the first labor injunction ever issued, and added: "Had Gompers, Morrison and Mitchell made such a howl then as they do now, the jails would not stare them in the face."

"We appealed, as Warren is doing now, to the higher courts, that of the working class. Do for him what you have done for me. Give him an audience."

Finally Haywood said: "If I could do for the working class now, what I did during the 18 months that I was in jail, I would gladly go back to jail. Organize industrially into one big union for the working class, and politically too. Use every weapon. Stand hand to hand, shoulder to shoulder, and mind to mind, and you can do for Warren what you did for me and release yourselves from wage slavery."

Jeannette D. Pearl.  
New York, December 23.

## S. P. BLUFF CALLED.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—At Paul Dinger's meeting here, when the angry trade union "Socialists" tore our banner down and almost mobbed the speaker, several S. P.-ites in the crowd charged that the Socialist Labor Party was afraid to debate with the S. P. We, accordingly, issued a challenge to them the next day. Enclosed you will find their reply.

Considering the education that the so-called Socialist party gives its members, it is no wonder that they do not care to shoulder any responsibility for what their members say.

Philip Kendall.

Toledo, O., December 19.

(Enclosure.)

## SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO.

Local Lucas County.

Toledo, Oct. 27, 1910.

Philip Kendall,  
City.

Dear Sir and Brother:—Local Lucas County of the Socialist party, at its last meeting, declined your challenge to debate, for the reason that the Socialist Labor Party is not a capitalist party.

Fraternally,

Josephine Bates, Secretary.

P. S.—The party does not feel responsible for what individual members may have said at your street meetings.

## WORK FOR YOUNGSTOWN S. L. P. MEN.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Section Youngstown has rented Township Hall, and will hold meetings every Saturday evening at 7:30 p. m., city time. All readers of our Party press are expected to be on hand. The S. L. P. members must untangle those questions, which are conundrums to the Up-to-Date Club, the question of government by commission being one of them. Other questions are "What the capitalists have done for the toilers," "Defects of the present monetary system," and so on.

Now, comrades, after having heard the members of the Up-to-Date Club, an aggregation of lawyers and business men, who think they are the special saviors of humanity, but do not know how to save themselves, one can safely say that the Up-to-Date Club can dabble in Socialism, but never teach it. Those "up-to-dates" can see the handwriting on the wall, and they squirm and sidestep for want of cour-

age to talk out like "men." But, as the writer has said before, and it holds good yet, the only man to-day in human society who can afford to tell the truth is the man out of a job, and who has nothing to lose; all others must tell lies or get out of business. The S. L. P. members can tell the truth and solve those questions which are conundrums, and thereby teach some simple economics to these corporation lawyers, bankers and business men. Our meetings will deal with answers to their questions. We shall solve those riddles for them, and do it without fear of consequence.

Comrades, now is the time for us to prepare; spring is coming, and we have a nice hall to practise in for the fray.

We have another opponent to deal with, the so-called Socialist party, but we are going to attend to it. Just think, we have got some of its best members in the S. L. P., and we will get more of them on January 7, 1911. Simons said his party was a hissing and a by-word with the A. F. of L.; it is a hissing and a by-word here with the working class. The A. F. of L. is dead here to all intents and purposes; the industrial form of organization is compensating to loom up at last, and we can do some good for our class by getting busy and attending these meetings.

All should join in the work of building up the Party. Come to our meetings and bring your shopmates. Remember Township Hall, Saturday evening, West Federal street. Be on hand and help in the good work.

E. R. Markley.

Youngstown, O., December 19.

## GLOATS OVER CHANCE TO KILL STRIKERS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed please find cutting from Montreal "Gazette," December 17.

It is notable that there seems to be a tone of approval in reporting an utterance such as contained in the clipping, and the difference between this attitude and that of the Russian Cossacks is so small as to be hardly discernable; in fact, to any thoughtful person it is comparatively easy to see that the "Russification" of this continent goes on apace. Therefore who can take any ground other than that of the complete unity of the working class on both the economic and the political fields in order to intelligently combat this situation, now rapidly confronting us?

Wm. T. Leach.

Montreal, Canada, December 19.

(Enclosure.)

Winnipeg, December 16.—The Government is taking steps early to overawe the striking street railway employees by a display of military force. As soon as the strike was declared the Royal Mounted Infantry stationed at Fort Osborne barracks were ordered out. Instead of the usual morning canter over the prairie, rifles were supplied to each man, and, under command of Colonel Macdonald, a quick march was taken through the principal streets of the city just at the time the strikers were returning home from their long conference, which ended at 7:30 this morning. As one officer remarked: "Some live lead will settle this strike if we get a chance. We settled the Toronto strike in twenty minutes, and we will settle this in less time if ever we are called out to quell rioting."

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## "MERIT SYSTEM" IN THE POST OFFICE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Capitalism, feeling itself firmly seated in the saddle of political and economic power, is scaling down or lopping off in every direction its political expenses.

Commenting editorially upon President Taft's recommendation, in his message to Congress, for the extension of the merit system, the New York Times Thursday said:

"There is a peculiar interest attaching to the latest recommendation of President Taft for the inclusion of the upper grades of postmasters in the merit system. These are practically the only remaining offices of importance now openly within the influence of the party politicians, the most valuable of the prizes left to the spoilsman. Even on these the grip of the spoilsman has been loosened by the popular demand for efficiency. . . Gradually as the value of the merit system has been tested in practice many of the larger offices have been put in charge of men who entered the service in competition and have shown their capacity, as is the case, for instance, in New York. But there still remain numbers of offices filled wholly for political motives, and they are an important asset in the place-mongering of the cheaper Senators. When Mr. Taft proposes to take them off the 'bargain counter' and to bring them under business principles, he is not only

himself taking a long step in advance, but he is supported in and incited to that step by the most practised politician in his Cabinet, Postmaster-General Hitchcock."

We postal clerks are certainly getting the "merit system" laid onto us now. Every department has a skilled pace-setter placed in it to goad the men on to "greater efficiency." Those who can't keep up the nerve-racking pace are set down as "undesirables," and are out of line for promotions.

Yes, great is the "merit system"—for the capitalist class, private or governmental.

Sta. Z.

New York, December 20.

## ITEMS CALIFORNIAN.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—This week witnesses the recrudescence of the bogus I. W. W. better known as the I-am-a-bummery. They were treated to a dose of their own medicine, that is, Direct Action.

Advices to hand state that over 1,000 men and boys attacked and severely beat a number of the "bummery" who sought to speak at one of the street corners, then advanced upon their camp outside the city limits on the north and burned the tent and all their supplies. A huge I. W. W. flag flying over the camp was torn to ribbons and pieces were passed around as souvenirs. The mob then paraded back to the town going up to the jail. Hearing of their approach the sheriff drew a cordon around the jail else the mob would probably have made it pretty warm for the 57 dupes of this so-called I. W. W. incarcerated therein.

Vincent St. John sent the following telegram to the Governor of California: "Broadcloth mob violence in effort to destroy constitutional rights of the members of this organization. As governor of the State you are responsible unless you act. What action are you taking?"

The following reply was sent from the governor's office:—

"Governor out of State. Acting governor in Sacramento. However, under laws of this State, governor has no authority at present to interfere. You must appeal to Fresno local authorities."

St. John thereupon sent the following telegram which savors of the unusual bombastic and threatening language of this misguided set:

"Mayor, Fresno, Cal.

"Action of respectable mob will not deter this organization. Full and complete reparation will be exacted. Free speech will be established in Fresno if it takes 20 years."

It has since developed that there is actually no ordinance against street speaking and accordingly the mayor has issued orders to the police not to interfere with any street speakers intimating however, that if the citizens objected he would not interfere.

The writer happened to hear a speech delivered by one Ed. Lewis, a shining light of the Fresno "bummery." He advocated more "direct action" and less "talking." He pointed out that the "fathers of the revolution" in '76 ceased talking when they found their demands were not forthcoming and used the gun instead. He referred to several other instances where gun play had proved the more effective argument. He is somewhat of an orator and his speeches interspersed with "funnyisms" appeal to the uninformed. No doubt his Fresno speeches are of a similar character and hence contributed very materially to the outrages perpetrated upon the "Bummery."

Now I will turn our attention to the local A. F. of L.-ites. We frequently hear how rigidly the A. F. of L. enforces its boycotts, how it clubs with fines and even with expulsions. The San Francisco Examiner has been declared unfair by the Newspaper Solicitors' Union and yet the paper makes its appearance daily at the Headquarters of the Labor Council and what is more it is paid for from the treasury of the council. Another case. The Bartenders' Union had declared Flannery's saloon, the Richelieu, unfair because it employed non-union bartenders and also because Orientals were employed. It was boycotted. Yet nearly every day the leaders of the local A. F. of L. were seen to belly up to the bar and consume great quantities of liquor. Among them was Olaf Tietmoe, Morton, and Johansen. Comment is not necessary.

Craft unionism. Here in Frisco we already have the Granite Cutters, the Marble Workers, the Stone Cutters' Union. Now comes a fourth, the Curb Setters' Union. This seems to be a too much even for the A. F. of L.-ites. A protest has been sent to the Labor Council.

Emil Seidel, mayor of Milwaukee, has sent his cordial greetings to the Union Labor administration of San Francisco. When one remembers that the "big business interests" elected P. H. McCarthy, that the platform he ran on was bourgeois to the core and that his administration has been for and of the "business interests," it throws an unenviable

light on the "Milwaukee Idea."

The official figures of the late election are now in. Stitt Wilson, candidate for governor on the S. P. ticket, polled considerably less votes than the early returns indicated. Partial returns indicated close to 60,000 votes for Wilson. The official canvass shows only 47,819 votes for the head of the ticket. Some of the candidates for Supreme Court Judges on the S. P. ticket ran as low as 38,000, or about 9,000 votes behind the head of the ticket. With all this it was the highest vote the S. P. ever polled in the State. The real Socialist vote was 337. No unthinking voter could vote for Charles H. Berg who was the candidate of the S. L. P. His name had to be written in the ballot and hence it was very difficult to vote for him.

F. W. S.

San Francisco, Calif., December 15.

## FRAINA'S MEETING AT BRIDGEPORT.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Section Bridgeport arranged a meeting for L. C. Fraina on Sunday, December 11, for the benefit of the readers of The People; these were personally invited to attend. Fraina's subject was: "Lessons of the Late Elections," and it was ably handled by Fraina. He brought out the facts which in this, as well as in former elections, led first one, then the other, political party, into power. He showed conclusively that economic conditions were the one factor which brought about these political changes. He showed that both the Democratic and the Republican parties were capitalistic, and as such could not possibly bring relief to the workers. Fraina left not a doubt in the minds of those present that the position of the Socialist Labor Party is the correct one, and affords the only means by which the working class can escape the horrible economic conditions at present prevailing. On the whole the lecture was very interesting and conveyed a valuable lesson to all present.

At the close of the lecture an invitation was extended to those in the audience to join the Party. Among those present were several of the resigned members of a year ago, and they immediately took this invitation as an opportunity to denounce both the State and the National Committees, attacking them bitterly for not upholding them in certain discrepancies, which they alone were responsible for. But they still hold personal animosity against other members of the Party. When questioned they all profess to be Socialists, yet they singularly could not put principle above individuals.

Happily, several purely sympathizers bore patiently with this controversy and expressed a willingness to become members in the very near future. Thus the purpose of our meeting was fulfilled, and it was proven to the discontented element that their particular brand of Socialism was not desired.

The meeting was a success, inasmuch as it enabled us to get into closer relations with sympathizers, whom otherwise we could not have met. The meeting made Section Bridgeport to resolve to adhere even more closely to the principles prescribed by the Socialist Labor Party.

Section Bridgeport S. L. P.

J. T. Riggs, Organizer.

Bridgeport, Conn., December 13.

## "The People"

Official Organ of and Owned by the Australian Socialist League and Socialist Labor Party.

A Weekly Paper published for the purpose of spreading Socialist Principles and organizing Socialist Thought. Its mission is to educate and prepare the working class for the approaching day of their emancipation from wage slavery; to point the way to class-conscious organization for economic and political action that the days of capitalist bondage might be quickened into the dead things of the past.

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## LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

H. P. BOSTON, MASS.—The difference we see between "cosmopolitanism" and "internationalism" is that the former means freedom from local attachment, while the latter means oneness of sentiment or action in all localities.—Next question next week.

W. O. B. NEW HAVEN, CONN.—The People can not be aggravated into taking a position that is hostile to workingmen's workingman-demands. Whatever body of workingmen is in a bona fide fight The People will stand by. It does so with regard to A. F. of L. strikes and therefore it does so with regard to the present shoemakers' strike, although this strike is conducted by a "Direct Action Only" Chicago I. W. W. agent.

W. J. HAMILTON, ONT.—The attitude of the Socialist party press and officialdom towards the Socialist Labor Party is this: "Damn the S. L. P.! It is right. Right every time. And we are wrong. Damn it. Smash it." Now, the S. L. P. would gladly gratify these gentlemen and get itself out of the way, if by allowing itself to be smashed, these gentlemen would mend their ways. The S. L. P. knows, however, that its disappearance would then only be used by these S. P. elements as a proof that their wrong was right, and the S. L. P. right was wrong. S. L. P. disbandment is therefore out of all question. It would mean desertion. The S. L. P. growth moreover settles the theory of the S. L. P. being "a vanishing proposition."

S. S. NEW YORK.—The date of the Chicago "Daily Socialist" containing the adv. for scabs to Panama was published in these columns in the article commenting upon the fact. It was November 30. Subsequent correspondence, also published, stated that the scab adv. ap-

peared only in the "local" edition. Neither for love or money can any copy of that edition be obtained in Chicago. A copy with the scab adv. is in the office for inspection.

J. D. NEW YORK.—See above answer to W. O. B., New Haven, Conn.

A. B. T. NEW YORK.—Seeing that the action of the Chicago I. W. W. in pronouncing itself "Direct-Actionist Only" placed that body in the Anarchist column, the restoration of the clause would replace the body in the column that entitles it to S. L. P. support.

H. S. Bartlesville, Okla.—The issue raised by the question will be treated editorially.

R. I. NEW YORK.—The People does not "line up with Berger" or with any other person outside of the S. L. P. When The People and such persons are agreed on any subject it is that such persons line up with The People on the said subject.

P. K. TOLEDO, O.—The International Socialist Bureau is located at Brussels. Up to the meeting of the Copenhagen Congress Berger was not a member of that body. Whether he has become a member since, as the representative of his party we do not know. As the representative of America he was not, nor can be. The S. L. P. has its own representative there.

A. O. NEW YORK; F. E. A. LOS ANGELES, CALIF.; H. S. HAMILTON, CANADA; W. E. McC. ST. PAUL, MINN.; H. H. L. NEW YORK, N. Y.; J. H. F. N. READING, MASS.; M. R. HOLYOKE, MASS.; D. B. PASADENA, CALIF.; G. S. FREEDONA, PA.; S. W. TORONTO, CANADA.—Matter received.

## STATE ORGANIZATION SECRETARIES.

California—L. C. Haller, 317 E. 7th street, Los Angeles.  
Colorado—George Anderson, 2312 E. 3rd avenue, Denver.  
Connecticut—Max Feldman, 329 Greenwich avenue, New Haven.  
Illinois—J. Bobinsky, 1514 Washburne avenue, Chicago.  
Indiana—F. P. Janke, 455 N. State avenue, Indianapolis.  
Kentucky—L. Fleischer, 110 S. 4th avenue, Louisville.  
Massachusetts—John Sweeney, 85 Centre street, Roxbury.  
Michigan—Adolph Ahlers, 1314 Vinewood avenue, Detroit.  
Minnesota—M. J. Cikanek, 278 Duke street, St. Paul.  
Missouri—Theo. Kaucher, 1420 S. 7th street, St. Louis.  
New Jersey—P. Merquelin, 1121 Myrtle avenue, Plainfield.  
New York—Ed. Moonelis, 28 City Hall Place, New York.  
Ohio—Richard Koepfel, 2416 East Ninth street, Cleveland.  
Pennsylvania—L. M. Barhydt, 245 7th avenue, West Homestead.  
Texas—Robert Straeh, P. O. Box 476, San Antonio.  
Virginia—L. Jerome, 1030 22nd street, Newport News.  
Washington—J. E. Riordan, 1911 E. Thomas street, Seattle.  
Wisconsin—John Vierthaler, 461 31st avenue, Milwaukee.

All persons desiring to attach themselves to the Socialist Labor Party in the above States, either by the formation of a local organization known as a "Section," or by joining as members-at-large, may write to the above named Secretary of State organization in the State where they reside. All others may apply to Paul Augustine, National Secretary, P. O. Box 1576, New York, N. Y.

## Rooseveltian FACT and FABLE

### CHAPTER TITLES

His Public Beginnings  
The Saml Juan Hill Myth  
"Roosevelt's Round Robin"  
"Roosevelt's Reform" Legends  
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## OFFICIAL

## NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Paul Augustine, National Secretary, 28 City Hall Place, N. Y. City.

CANADIAN S. L. P., Philip Courtenay, National Secretary, 144 Duchess avenue, London, Ont.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO., the Party's Literary Agency, 28 City Hall Place, N. Y. City.

NOTICE—For technical reasons no Party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 6 p. m.

## NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, S. L. P.

The members of the National Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party, are hereby notified that the next regular semi-annual session will convene at National Headquarters, 28 City Hall Place, New York City, on SUNDAY morning, January 1, at 10 o'clock.

State Executive Committees which contemplate sending their N. E. C. member to the above session will please inform the undersigned on or before December 24.

Paul Augustine,  
National Secretary.

## CANADIAN N. E. C.

Regular meeting of N. E. C. of the S. L. P. of Canada held on December 9 at 67 Bathurst street, London. Bryce elected to chair.

Minutes adopted as read.

Communications:—From R. Baker, of Vancouver, B. C., enclosing \$4.50 for charter and supplies, due stamps and acknowledging receipt of same. From C. Pierson, at Portland, Ore., acknowledging receipt of money order for three dollars and giving address of Gillhaus. From H. R. Simpson, Hamilton, Ont. From Karl Marx Club of Hamilton, Ont., asking terms from Haselgrove in re speaking before that club.

Decided that Section communicate with Section Vancouver and Gillhaus in re propaganda. Decided that Secretary write Karl Marx Club on what terms Haselgrove would visit Hamilton.

F. Haselgrove,  
Rec. Sec'y.

## N. E. C. SUB-COMMITTEE.

Regular meeting of above committee held at National Headquarters December 16th. Petersen chairman. Present: Lefkowitz, Rosenberg, Schwartz, Kihn, and Petersen; absent and excused: Laferty and Schaffty; absent: Ball, Butterworth, Deutsch, Hall, Machauer, Mittleberg, Rosenberg, Signarovits and Sweeney.

Minutes of previous meeting read and approved. Financial Report: Income, \$143; expenses, \$122.06.

National Secretary reported charges had been preferred against the Hungarian Party members who had aided in the disruption of the Hungarian Socialist Labor Federation by agitating against the S. L. P.; these men being: Frank Bosky, L. Goldberger, D. Lang, A. Waldman, M. Gross, A. Somio, E. Cohen and K. Eller. He also reported arrangements made on behalf of the National Leaflet Distribution Fund for work in the Brooklyn Shoe Workers Strike; action endorsed.

Letters were received from following pertaining to agitation: S. L. P. of South Africa; Sections Indianapolis, Ind.; Hoboken, N. J.; Louisville, Ky.; St. Louis, Mo.; Manchester, N. H.; O. M. Johnson, Stockholm, Sweden; H. Graham, Lansing, Mich.; L. W. W. Hamtramck, Mich.; Minnesota, S. E. C.; Cal. S. E. C.; Missouri S. E. C.; Texas S. E. C.; R. Katz, Chicago, Ill.

Remittances for the Special Fund were received from Colo. S. E. C.; Sections St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minn.; Phoenix, Ariz.; Roanoke, Va.; Tacoma, Wash.; Cleveland, O.; Los Angeles, Cal.; H. J. Friedman, Chicago, Ill.

Due stamps purchased by Lettish S. L. Federation; State Executive Committees of Minn., Va., Mich., Penna., Ohio and Texas. International Socialist Congress assessments were paid by Sections Santa Clara, Cal., and Pittsfield, Mass. Missouri and Michigan S. E. C.'s endorsed publication of State secretaries.

Correspondence pertaining to other matters was received from the Hungarian Socialist Labor Federation, applying for admission into the Party; the Federation, which numbers 17 Locals, was admitted. National secretary instructed to secure deed to the property of "A. Munkas," and pending the receipt of deed the paper and its editor was endorsed by the Sub-Committee subject to approval by the N. E. C. Correspondence from the Wash. S. E. C. pertaining to transactions between Section Seattle and the N. Y. Labor News Co. was received and referred to the Press Committee for attention. Section San Francisco, Cal., send minutes of the Grievance Committee in re matter of J. Jurgis and Lettish Section; referred to N. E. C. session. Several communications received from the Editor of "Radnicka Borba" were sent to John Kircher, N. E. C. member from Ohio, for information, the same to be

given the N. E. C. in session. Communications from J. Kresswell, New York City, and J. Chesterfield, St. Louis, Mo., were received, the latter replied to and the former referred to the N. E. C. in session.

The invitation of the Scandinavian Socialist Labor Federation to send a delegation to its coming convention to be held in New York City, January 1, 1911, was accepted, and Nils Malmberg, of Section Bergen County, N. J., was elected to represent the S. L. P.

A. C. Kihn, Secretary.

## NEW JERSEY S. E. C.

Meeting of the New Jersey S. E. C., held December 11. Present: Officers and delegates from Essex, South Hudson, Union and Hoboken. Werdenberg, chairman.

Correspondence: From Sections Passaic, Bergen and Union, local election returns. From Union, Essex, Passaic and Bergen, making nominations for N. E. C. member.

The secretary reported progress in re organization of Trenton; that comrades Katz, Butterworth, Campbell, Magnette and Malmberg had been nominated for N. E. C. member; that all had declined but Butterworth and Magnette, and that balloting was progressing.

Section reports: Plainfield had held a successful package party; were endeavoring to establish a circulating library. Hoboken: Working to increase membership, with good prospects of being enabled to shortly build up a strong Section.

Frank Campbell, chairman of the Newark League for the Defence of Political Refugees, recounted the work of that League, requested this S. E. C.'s endorsement of same. Request was granted and the secretary directed to notify Sections to interest themselves in the formation of similar leagues.

Warrants were ordered drawn for \$5 in payment of rent of meeting place, and \$10 donated to The People's Christmas Box.

Financial Report: Receipts, dues, \$18, S. A. F., \$4.90; disbursements, \$15.56; stamps on hand, \$115; cash on hand, general fund, \$29.01; S. A. F., \$5.80.

Adjourned to January 8, 1911.

P. Merquelin, Secretary.

## CALIFORNIA S. E. C.

Regular meeting of this Committee held on December 1. Members present: Appel, Demuth, Haller, Hurley, Levozy, and Schade. Absent: Edwards. Chairman, Appel. Minutes of last meeting adopted as read.

Warrants ordered drawn as follows: for rent of hall \$4; for literature \$2; for postage \$2. Financial report for November, 1910: Cash on hand, November, \$69.56. Expenditures, \$53.25. Circuit Fund, on hand November 1, \$32.80; receipts, \$39.75; expenditures: to Labor News Co., \$17; to Chas. Pierson, \$30; balance \$25.64.

Correspondence:—Four letters from San Diego, reporting statements made by Casper Bauer. Secretary was instructed to write to C. Bauer and find out if statements reported to have been made by him were true. From MacFarland, reporting strike situation at Los Angeles Aqueduct. From Chas. Pierson, Portland, with receipts for money. From E. A. Archibald sending \$4 for dues and organizer's fund. From A. W. Smith, with money for same fund; also from J. Hertzbrun. From John Holler, San Francisco, reporting votes cast for S. L. P. in that city. Nominations for N. E. C. member for California: O. M. Johnson, H. J. Schade, John J. Brown.

N. E. C. member instructed to report all business transactions in that body to State Committee. All Sections are requested to report to State Committee about their activity.

A. Demuth, Rec. Sec'y.

## OHIO S. E. C.

Meeting of Ohio S. E. C. of December 12th, with Comrade Bitchakoff in the chair. Absent and excused, Goerke; not excused, Christiansen and Rugg. Minutes adopted as read.

Communications:—From Section Cincinnati, with \$7.50 for due stamps. From M. Borovitz, Akron, \$1 for State Org. Fund. From O. M. Held, Toledo, reporting arrangements for Reinstein meeting and inclosing bills in connection therewith. These bills, \$7.50 for hall rent and \$3.50 for printing, were ordered paid, as was also bill of Koepfel for \$1 for round-trip fare to Akron.

Matter of organizer-circuits was laid over to next meeting. Koepfel reported largely attended and successful meeting in Akron, addressed by him in German, got seven new subs to German Party organ, sold seventeen German pamphlets; besides, Section Akron received four applications for membership and collection taken up at the meeting amounted to nearly \$5.

Decided to instruct Comrade John Kircher to attend January session of N. E. C.

Receipts, \$8.50; expenditures, \$12.

Richard Koepfel, Sec'y.

## 15TH ANNIVERSARY OF SECTION CLEVELAND'S SINGING BRANCH

The Singing Branch of Section Cleveland, S. L. P., the "Socialistische Liedertafel," will celebrate its Fifteenth Anniversary on New Year's Eve, December 31, at Acme Hall, 2416 East Ninth street, near Scoville avenue. The celebration will commence at 8 p. m. A splendid programme will be rendered, consisting of prologue, festival speech, songs by the Liedertafel and by renowned soloists, serious and humorous recitations, couplets and theatrical performance. This will be followed by a Grand New Year Ball.

Tickets, in advance, 25 cents a couple, can be had from all comrades and, at the office of the German Party organ at Acme Hall. Tickets at the door 50 cents.

The "Socialistische Liedertafel" is a directly affiliated branch of the Section and has in fifteen years of its existence rendered valuable service to the Section. It therefore deserves, in turn, the fullest support of all comrades, friends and sympathizers of the S. L. P. in Cleveland. At its anniversary, its "day of honor," none of our friends and adherents should be absent, but a "packed" house should greet the brave singers. Come, every one of you, and enjoy a few delightful hours in the midst of our German comrades, who understand excellently how to arrange festivals and to give their guests the best of entertainment.

## SEATTLE NEW YEAR'S EVE REJOICING.

Section members and sympathizers: Section Seattle will hold a Social and House Warming at its new headquarters, 1918 Westlake avenue, on New Year's Eve, SATURDAY, December 31, beginning at 8 p. m.

Come and see the old year out and the New Year in. Don't fail to attend. Entertainment Committee.

## ATTENTION HARTFORD, CONN.

As in former years, so again this time, Section Hartford has arranged a New Year's festival at headquarters, 34 Elm street. All who wish to enjoy a few jolly hours in the winding up of the old year are cordially invited.

The Committee.

## ST. PAUL ENTERTAINMENT AND BALL.

Socialist Labor Party men, their friends, and sympathizers are cordially invited to attend the 18th Annual Christmas and New Year Entertainment and Ball given by Section St. Paul, Socialist Labor Party, on Sunday, January 1st, 1911, at Federation Hall 309 Wabasha st. The Entertainment starts at 3 o'clock p. m. Admission 35c per couple if attended to in advance. At the door 50c.

Presents for the children.

Dancing in order after supper.

## LECTURE IN BALTIMORE.

E. J. Higgins of Philadelphia, will speak at Union Hall, 1012 East Baltimore street, Baltimore, on SUNDAY, JANUARY 1, 2 o'clock in the afternoon, on the subject: "Workingmen's Unions versus Bosses' Unions." The lecture is arranged by the Cigar Workers' Industrial Union of Baltimore. Admission is free. Workingmen are invited to attend.

## TO CALIFORNIA MEMBERS AND SYMPATHIZERS OF THE S. L. P.

The election being over, the count shows that the capitalist class is still in the saddle, and will run things as before. The work of the Socialist Labor Party is needed more than ever, the so-called Socialist party with its revamped Populist doctrine is misleading the workers into the belief that they are getting the real article such as was taught by Marx and Engels. The counterfeit must be laid bare to the workers of this and other states.

The State Committee has engaged Chas. Pierson to canvass the state for subscriptions to the Party Press and Literature. It is a recognized fact that our literature on the subject of Socialism has no equal, in setting one right on the essential subjects of Socialism. We can consider ourselves fortunate in being able to secure such an able sub. getter as Pierson, who is well adapted for this all-important work, as well as for bringing into the Party those that are at this time most desirable. Well we know that never was the freak sentiment so strong as to-day. We expect each one of you to send in a contribution to the Canvasser's Fund, and repeat the dose as often as you can, and we will build up the circulation of the Daily and Weekly People and thereby clear up a lot of those that have been misled by the counterfeit Socialist Party and its false teachings. Do not delay, but act quick, as Pierson will commence work about December 1st, and the few dollars now on hand won't go far.

Be up and doing; it is your duty to your class.

For the Cal. S. E. C. of the S. L. P.

L. C. Haller, Sec'y-Treas.

## HAMMERING AWAY

## THE ACTIVE BRIGADE KEEP THE PROPAGANDA BOOMING.

Two little items from the week's mail go to prove that the Weekly People appeals to those who are mentally alert. A man in the far West, finding a scrap of an old copy of the paper, bearing the old address, became so interested that he sends a subscription. Another man, in Bridgeport, Conn., who had been loaned the paper by a friend, concluded that he needed the paper right along, so he sent for a year's subscription.

There is a field, a broad field, too, for the press of the S. L. P. The S. L. P. man who does not cultivate that field is recreant to his duty.

With everybody busy at the work of propaganda 10,000 new readers would be added to our lists in no time.

One sub a month, for five months, will do the job.

The Roll of Honor, names of those sending two or more subscriptions during the week, follows:

L. Brinkley, Pine Bluff, Ark.	2
E. A. O'Brien, Eureka, Cal.	5
L. C. Haller, Los Angeles, Cal.	4
W. Skrocki, Vallejo, Cal.	2
N. Wade, London, Can.	3
S. L. P. Section, Denver, Col.	4
F. Knotek, Hartford, Conn.	5
R. Katz, Chicago, Ill.	4
J. Burkhardt, Indianapolis, Ind.	2
M. J. Clark, Paducah, Ky.	2
F. Houtenbrink, Boston, Mass.	5
J. Sweeney, Boston, Mass.	3
H. Werme, Worcester, Mass.	7
D. Lyons, Bear River, Minn.	2
S. L. P. Section, St. Paul, Minn.	2
R. H. Palmer, Paterson, N. J.	2
J. Reese, Plainfield, N. J.	2
E. Hawk, Buffalo, N. Y.	2
F. Brown, Cleveland, O.	5
W. R. Fox, Cincinnati, O.	6
P. Faber, Kent, O.	2
O. M. Held, Toledo, O.	2
E. J. Higgins, Phila., Pa.	2
J. Wiesner, Renovo, Pa.	2
B. J. Murray, Providence, R. I.	5
C. W. Stewart, Galveston, Tex.	2
O. W. Nelson, Houston, Tex.	2
R. Strach, San Antonio, Tex.	3
L. Olsson, Tacoma, Wash.	6

Prepaid cards sold: Phoenix, Ariz., \$5.00; New Orleans, La., \$3.00; Hoboken, N. J., \$3.00.

## Labor News Notes.

"Roosevelt's Fact and Fable," which the Daily People's reviewer declared deserving of wide reading, is making its way. The author, Mrs. Hale, is now receiving the usual reward of those who present things as they are, abuse, for answer. The "Book News Monthly" pronounces the calm statement of facts, a "venomous diatribe," and questions what good can come from it were it "absolutely true." The Charlotte, N. C., "Observer" declares the work is marked by "virulence" and "bitterness."

For the long winter evenings you want a good book to read, not only to read but to study. Such a book is Ancient Society; a book without some knowledge of which a clear understanding of history is difficult. Reinforce your Sue reading with Ancient Society.

"Woman Under Socialism" is a work that sells steadily. If you haven't it on your bookshelf the shelf is incomplete. This book is an education in itself.

Haeckel's "Evolution of Man," which we supply for \$1.20, by mail, is a work that heretofore was only available in a ten-dollar edition.

Volume II of the "Sword of Honor" is going through the press; one more small volume after that and the Sue series is complete.

## OPERATING FUND.

T. P. Landee, Eureka, Cal.	2.50
J. Lavignini, Los Angeles, Cal.	1.00
W. Skrocki, Vallejo, Cal.	.50
F. Anderson, Hyland, Mont.	.50
G. E. Powell, Newpt News, Va.	1.00
P. Wagner, Seattle, Wash.	1.00
J. Vollmer, Spokane, Wash.	.50
Total	7.00
Previously acknowledged	6,761.81
Grand total	\$6,768.81

## DAILY PEOPLE XMAS BOX.

The contributions to this fund are catching up some but they are behind those of previous years at corresponding periods. The Xmas Box is not for distribution among the workers on the paper; it is to enable the paper to meet

some pressing obligations at a time when receipts in general are slow. Last week's contributions were:

J. Mann, Chicago, Ill.	1.00
A. Beermann, Omaha, Neb.	1.00
H. Miller, Newark, N. J.	1.00
H. Warlett, Brooklyn, N. Y.	2.00
L. Me, New York	1.00
Old Timer, New York	1.00
P. E. De Lee, Troy, N. Y.	5.00
D. Lyons, Bear River, Minn.	1.00
J. Sweeney, Hoboken, N. J.	2.00
C. J. Wolf, Jersey City, N. J.	.50
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## MORE SHOE STRIKERS OUT.

(Continued from page one.)

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P. S.—Mr. John F. Tobin, General President of the Boot & Shoe Workers' Union, acknowledged the authorship of this letter at the American Federation of Labor convention at Toronto, 1909.

## Crowding Out Tobin Union.

Boston, December 24.—The shoe manufacturing city of Lynn has strikes on in three factories, about 2,000 workers being out and it is felt that more will go out. Lynn has more labor disputes than any other city in Massachusetts.

Many of the strikes are due directly to the internal strife among the unions, one union being compelled to war on another. The Boot & Shoe Workers' Union which was numerically strong in Lynn once because of its subservience to the employers has almost been forced out of the city except for two shops, which it still controls. The Knights of Labor have administered this blow to the B. & S. W. U. A new organization has come in now, the United Shoe Workers of America, with which the Knights are in substantial harmony, as they are able to work together in the same shop; but there are a number of independent unions which steer clear of national affiliations.

## OUT OF A JOB AT FIFTY.

(Continued from page 4.)

the only, obstacle to the attainment of their object. I don't believe that there was, anything worse than ill luck to be charged against any of these men. At any rate, the man who keeps sober when the world wears its blackest frown is not a slave to the liquor habit."

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